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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BEHAVIOR OF WOMEN IN CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING GROUPS

by

© CHERYL LYNNE MALMO-LEVINE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1972

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Behavior of Women in Consciousness-Raising Groups," submitted by Cheryl Lynne Malmo-Levine in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis reports an investigation of women's perceptions of themselves and other women, their self-acceptance and affiliations preferences, comparing women involved in consciousness-raising groups with women in four traditional women's groups. The expectation from the literature was that in comparison to the traditional groups, the consciousness-raising group would: (a) differ in their perceptions of other women, (b) differ in their perceptions of themselves, (c) have a lesser discrepancy between perception of other women and themselves, (d) have a higher self-acceptance, and (e) prefer to affiliate with other women to a greater extent. Further, it was postulated that: (f) there would be variation among the traditional groups on perception of self, and (g) there would be variation among the traditional groups as to their affiliation preferences.

Questionnaires were administered to a total of 127 subjects. The n for the five groups was as follows:

Consciousness-raising group	(CR)	28
Graduate student wives	(W)	29
Mormon Relief Society	(M)	17
Early childhood education students	(E)	25
Business and professional career women	(C)	28

Using the .05 level of significance the chi-square tests on scales measuring "perception of other women" showed significant differences between the CR group and the W, M, E, and C groups on 4 out of 40 adjective scales. The chi-square tests on "perception of self"

showed significant differences between the CR group and the W, M, E, and C groups on 17 out of 40 adjective scales, and between the C group and the W, M, and E groups on 8 out of 40 adjective scales.

A discrepancy score was calculated by summing absolute differences between scores on perception of self and perception of other women. A one-way analysis of variance on the discrepancy scores showed no significant differences between the CR group and the W, M, E, and C groups.

The one way analysis of variance carried out on mean self-acceptance scores was not significant.

The one way analysis of variance carried out on the 10 scales measuring affiliation preferences showed significant differences between the CR group and the W, M, E, and C groups on 9 out of 10 scales. Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR group to prefer to affiliate with women to a greater extent than the other groups on 8 out of the 9 significant scales. No difference was found among the traditional groups.

Though there were significant differences between the CR group and traditional groups in perceptions of self and other women, the most remarkable differences were obtained in relation to the CR group's preference to affiliate with other women.

Significant variation was detected among the traditional groups on the symbolic level (perception of self) but not on the behavioral level (affiliation).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express her deep appreciation to the members of her consciousness-raising group - Adele, Barb, Day, Henriette, Lee, Lorette, Lynne, Toni, and Vera - who gave their support throughout the undertaking of this study. Thanks are also due to Dr. Allen Vanderwell, Ms. Doris Bader, and Dr. Tom Maguire for their helpful advice and supervision. The work done by Mr. Ernie Skakun and Ms. Marion Anderson is also gratefully acknowledged. The willingness to participate and the time given by the subjects is also much appreciated.

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FORWARD

Some eighteen months ago I first came across Phillip Goldberg's study which demonstrated that women think more highly of men than they do of women---that women believe that men are superior in intelligence to women, even in traditionally feminine areas. Upon recovering from my initial bewilderment and confusion, I began to ask myself what implications this study had for me, as a woman. In order to further explore my feelings about and perceptions of other women, and myself as a woman, I became involved in a Women's Liberation consciousness-raising group. My interest in doing this study has grown out of that involvement and my own desire to learn more, in an academic sense, about women.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Within our society there has been an increasing concern for groups of people with low status who are being denied full participation in those opportunities which our culture ostensibly extends to all members of the society. Much of the focus of this concern is being directed toward the consequences of prejudice and discrimination on individuals. Various methods of "helping" such people have been tried. The current popular belief seems to be that constructive change will come only when those involved are themselves motivated to demand and work for change. "All liberation depends upon the consciousness of servitude (Marcuse, cited by Reeves, 1971, p.16)." Coupled with change, then, is the awareness that one is being denied full participation in the society and that this has implications for one's personal life. Consequently, people with common concerns are now meeting in groups to share their ideas and experiences and to learn from each other in hope of becoming more aware of themselves and their own personal situation in relation to the society at large.

Current research is examining women as a social group. The results have indicated that women are denied full participation in the opportunities supposedly open to all members of our society. Further, much has been written as to the effects this has on women's personalities and behavior. Women too are attempting to work for change on their own behalf in many and various ways. Across North America they are meeting

in consciousness-raising groups to share with other women their ideas, feelings and experiences with the hope of learning to better understand themselves and how they relate to others, to become more aware of the problems they face as women, and to support each other's attempts to make changes in their personal lives.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the perceptions of and attitudes toward themselves and other women, of women involved in consciousness-raising groups, as compared with those of women involved in more traditional groups.

Definitions

"Consciousness-raising groups" are defined for the purpose of this study, as groups of from six to twelve women who have met regularly for four months or more for the reasons outlined above, ie., to share their experiences, to learn to understand themselves and how they relate to others, to become aware of the special problems they face as women, and to support each other's attempts to make changes in their personal lives.

"Traditional groups" are defined for the purpose of this study, as groups of women who have met regularly for various lengths of time for the purpose of furthering the ideals held by their particular organization. Rather than looking for new solutions and making changes, they are perpetuating the familiar and maintaining the status quo.

Research Questions

The following research questions will be investigated:

1. Do women in consciousness-raising groups tend to perceive other

women differently than do women in more traditional groups?

2. Do women in consciousness-raising groups tend to perceive themselves differently than do women in more traditional groups?
3. Do women in consciousness-raising groups have a greater sense of self-acceptance than do women in more traditional groups?
4. Do women in consciousness-raising groups tend to prefer to affiliate with women to a greater extent than do women in more traditional groups?
5. Are there differences in the perceptions of themselves and of other women, in self-acceptance and in the affiliation preferences of women in the various traditional groups?

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The Problem in Perspective

> "What a misfortune to be a woman!
> And yet the worst misfortune is
> not to understand what a misfortune
> it is."
>
> Kierkegaard
> (cited in Lewis, 1968, p. iv)

Women have historically been regarded as inferior beings compared to men (Bird, Henripin, Humphrey, Lange, Lapointe, MacGill, Ogilvie, 1970; Dixon, 1969; Millet, 1969; Nietzsche, 1969; Shainess, 1969). In the area of psychology women have been defined as innately inferior (Abraham, 1922; Bonaparte, 1953; Deutsch, 1945; Freud, 1925; Millet, 1969; Terman and Miles, 1936), or as biologically different but equal (Bardwick, 1971; Erikson, 1965; Lundberg and Farnham, 1947, 1964; Montagu, 1954; Robinson, 1959). Though some theorists protested that women's inferiority was culturally rather than biologically determined (Horney, 1926; Mill and Mill, 1970; Stern, 1965; Thompson, 1942, 1947), not until recently has the entire basis for a definition of woman been questioned (Dixon, 1969; McClelland, 1965; Millet, 1969; Shainess, 1969). McClelland (1965) maintains that to define women in relation to man, to describe her in terms of male characteristics is both limiting and inaccurate. We "...can't use male categories to describe accurately women's characteristics (p. 174)."

The feminists of the 1800's were the first group to collectively question the prescribed role and status of women and to demand equality (deBeauvoir, 1953; Friedan, 1963; Lewis, 1968; Millet, 1969). The

Women's Liberation Movement is a rebirth of this concern (Dixon, 1970). Its members are asking for "a more meaningful sense of community and a greater depth to personal relationships across class, sex, and racial lines; a stress on human fellowship and individual scope for creativity...(Rossi, 1969, p. 184)."

In order to examine what is happening to women today psychologists, sociologists, and numerous writers from the Women's Movement have found it useful to use a minority group analogy to explain the phenomenon (Bem and Bem, 1971; Bird, 1968; Bird et al., 1970; Dixon, 1969, 1970; Firestone, 1970; Hacker, 1951; Hughes, 1949; Jones, 1968; Lewis, 1968; Merriam, 1966; Millet, 1970; Montagu, 1954; Myrdal, 1944; Ozick, 1970; Reisman, 1964; Rossi, 1965, 1969; Roszak, 1969; Roszak and Roszak, 1969; Rubin, 1969; Shainess, 1969; Van Stolk, 1968).

As used by Hacker (1951), the analogy is based on Wirth's (1950) definition that a minority group is not necessarily a statistical concept but rather refers to the pattern of relationship between a dominant group and a subordinate group, the members of which are reacted to categorically (as a stereotype), receive differential and unequal treatment, and lack power and status. "Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society (Wirth, 1950, p. 347)." Indeed, the research has firmly established that women are subject to prejudicial attitudes and to discrimination at the legal, organizational, and social levels (Amundson, 1971; Benston, 1970; Bernard, 1964; Bird, 1968; Bird et al., 1970; Cantarow, Diggs, Ellis, Marx, Robinson, and Schien, 1971; Davis, 1969; deBeauvoir, 1970; Dixon, 1969, 1970; Friedan, 1963; Joreen, 1970; Kennedy, 1970; Larson, 1972; Millet, 1970; Rossi, 1969; Rubin, 1969; Schulder, 1970).

Of even greater concern to many theorists, however, is the effect of having a minority status on the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours of women. According to Wirth (1950) "What matters, then about minorities is not merely their objective position but the corresponding patterns of behaviour they develop and the pictures they carry around in their heads of themselves and of others (p. 350)." That being relegated to such a status may have a devastating effect on the personality is evident (Allport, 1958; Cayton, 1965; Kitagawa, 1965; Simpson and Yinger, 1958; Wirth, 1950). In his book, "The Nature of Prejudice", Allport (1958) has devoted a chapter to traits due to victimization in which he describes ego defenses common to minority group members. It is these patterns of behaviour, these 'traits due to victimization' that are being investigated in this study.

The concern of the Women's Liberation Movement reaches beyond women being treated as second class citizens. In addition, members of the Movement are concerned that women are unaware of the status they have and of its effect on their lives. Hacker (1951) describes how this lack of awareness may take different forms. Women may be unaware of the extent to which being a woman influences the **way** others treat them. Consequently, women may interpret others' behaviour toward themselves solely in terms of their own individual characteristics. Or, they may be unaware of the general disesteem that goes with being a woman (Hacker, 1951). Bem and Bem (1971) maintain that the greatest problem for women may be that the ideology of the inferiority of women is nonconscious. "We are like the fish who is unaware that his environment is wet (Bem and Bem, 1971, p. 85)." In the words of Ozick (1970):

> And it is a bigger problem than any other we

> know of in this country, for the plain and terrifying reason that we do not even consider it to be a problem... Once a problem has been articulated, the answer is implicit; the answer is already fated. But this problem is never articulated; there is no answer because no one asks the question (p. 20).

Jesse Lemisch (cited in Rubin, 1969, p. 231) similarly believes this problem to be monumental. She states:

> It is a measure of how far we have to go that such a course (on women) should have to begin by convincing students that a problem does in fact exist, that women are not inferior, and that there is injustice and brutality in this area. People are more sophisticated about blacks than about women. Black history courses do not have to begin by convincing people that blacks are not in fact genetically better suited to dancing than thinking...

If change is ever to come for women then they must first be aware that there is a problem. This is the aim of the consciousness-raising group--to make women aware of their status as women, and of the effect of this status on their personal and public lives.

This study will attempt to examine the perceptions and attitudes of women toward themselves and other women, in light of the minority group analogy and in light of what consciousness-raising groups are attempting to do about making women aware of their status.

Women's Perceptions of and Attitudes Toward Other Women

> The confused status of women is not, for the most part, the result of legal restrictions. The basic problem is one of attitudes--those of society in general and those of women themselves.
>
> Lewis (1968, p.5)

A stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category,

the function of which is to justify our conduct in relation to that category (Allport, 1954). That sex-role stereotypes do, in fact, exist and that the feminine stereotype carries with it an unfavorable connotation has been substantiated in the research (Fernberger, 1948; Fortune, 1946; Goldberg, 1968; Hacker, 1951; Jarrett and Sherriffs, 1953; McKee and Sherriffs, 1957, 1959; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman and Broverman, 1968; Rudy, 1968-69; Sheriffs and Jarrett, 1953; Sherriffs and McKee, 1957; Smith, 1939; White, 1950).

Smith (1939) found that with increasing age, boys have a progressively more favorable opinion of boys while girls have a progressively poorer opinion of girls. Rudy's (1968-69) study of sex-role perceptions in early adolescence supports this finding. His results demonstrated that boys find the masculine stereotype more desirable than girls find the feminine stereotype.

The research shows too, that women agree with men as to many of the characteristics of men and women. Fernberger (1948) found that both men and women agreed that women cause trouble more often, are less intelligent, talk too much, and are more sensitive than men. Further, both men and women expressed a belief in the all-round superiority of men.

A series of related studies by a number of researchers (Jarrett and Sherriffs, 1953; McKee and Sherriffs, 1957, 1959; Sherriffs and Jarrett, 1953; Sherriffs and McKee, 1957) "establish the higher evaluation of males by college students of both sexes beyond a reasonable doubt (McKee and Sherriffs, 1959, p. 356)." The variety of procedures used and the consistency of the findings make this conclusion convincing. However, it should be noted that a forced-choice method may require the subjects to attribute characteristics to males or females and thus require of them to

respond within a stereotype framework.

Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) found that not only was there a strong agreement between the sexes about the differences between men and women, but that there were similar differences between self-concepts of the sexes. Their results indicate that there was a more frequent high evaluation of the masculine over feminine characteristics in both sexes.

In summary it has been shown that:

(a) There are highly consensual norms and beliefs about the differing characteristics of men and women.

(b) The sex-role stereotype of woman is seen as less favorable than that of man.

The latter point is further substantiated by the research pertaining to minority group behaviour. Hacker (1951) maintains that women's behaviour mirrors the prevailing attitude toward them, resulting in a self-hate which becomes manifest in their self-castigation and denigration of other women. Her theory is consistent with Allport's (1958) theory that a minority group member may adopt the view of the dominant group that he is inferior; he "sees his own group through their eyes (p. 147)." Indeed, the theory has already been investigated with regard to women. In a study dealing with the value of women to society, their attributes, rights and proper sphere of work, Kitay (1940) constructed an attitude test to measure female's (low prestige group) and male's (high prestige group) attitudes toward women. "The conclusion arrived at is that a low prestige group does tend to adopt prevailing views originated by a high prestige group even when they are uncomplementary to itself...(p. 403-404)."

Such behaviour as Hacker describes was also demonstrated in the

Fortune Polls (1946) when women voiced their misgivings concerning women's participation in industry, the professions, and civic life. Similar behaviour was documented by White (1950) who found that women agreed emphatically with men that men are generally superior to and more intelligent than women, that women resent eminence in other women, and that women will vote for a low grade man in preference to a more highly qualified woman. Similarly, a study by French and Lesser (1964) demonstrated that both men and women see men as intelligent and women as fitting into the confines of women's role, ie., nurturing, sensitive, feminine, etc.

That women's perceptions of and attitudes toward other women is manifest in their behaviour is perhaps most clearly evidenced in the work of Goldberg (1968). He demonstrated that women persist in downgrading the intellectual and professional competence of their fellow females even when the facts give no support to the belief that women are inferior. College women were asked to give critical evaluations of six professional articles, previously rated as typically masculine or feminine. Each of two groups of women received three articles which bore the name of a male author and three articles which bore the name of a female author. The experimental manipulation consisted of changing the names on the articles; the same article bore a male name in one set of booklets and a female name in the other. The women consistently found an article more valuable and its author more competent when the article bore a male name. Goldberg concluded, "Clearly there is a tendancy among women to downgrade the work of professionals of their own sex.... Even in traditionally female fields, antifeminism holds sway (p. 30)."

Much of the current literature by and about women offers extensive support both to Hacker's (1951) supposition and to Goldberg's (1968) conclusion (Bird, 1968; Cantarow et al., 1971; Dixon, 1969; Greer, 1970; Jones, 1969; Lewis, 1968; Millet, 1969; Sanders, 1965; Shain, 1972). Bird (1968) maintains that like the Uncle Toms who accept favors from white men and then proceed to criticize blacks more harshly than do whites, there are Aunt Janes who, having made it in a man's world are often more critical than men of women who haven't succeeded in a similar manner.

Expectations of women's perceptions of other women in this study are based on empirical evidence from the literature that shows that women do accept the feminine stereotype as legitimate for other women. Traditional women's perceptions of other women therefore, are expected to mirror both the negative image of women (weak, shallow, passive, submissive, etc.) and the positive feminine qualities (good, honest, other-oriented, graceful, etc.).

Women's Perceptions of and Acceptance of Themselves

> The souls of women are so small
> That some believe they've none at all.
>
> Samuel Butler
> (cited by E.C. Lewis, 1968, p. vii)

> They are hindered by the narrow vision of those around them, as well as by their own narrow view of themselves and their world.
>
> E.C. Lewis (1968, p. vii)

> She limits -- she self-limits -- her

> aspirations and her expectations. She joins the general mockery at her possibilities. I have heard her laughing at herself as though she were a dancing dog. You have seen her regard her life as a disease to be constantly tended and pacified.
>
> Cynthia Ozick (1970, p. 24)

It has been established in the previous section that women do see women within the narrow confines of the feminine stereotype. It seems logical to infer that self-perception is related to the stereotyped perception of others. The literature supports this inference.

Sex-role preference.

In a Fortune Poll (1946) when asked if they were to be born again what would they rather be, only 65.7% of the women would still want to be female, compared to 91.5% of the men who would prefer to be male.

The research of Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) demonstrated that parents are more enthusiatic about having another baby if they have only girls, than if they already have boys or both sexes. They seem more willing to consider their family complete if they have only boys than if they have only girls.

It is evident that children learn at an early age of the disfavor that goes with being female. Brown (1956, 1957, 1958) has repeatedly demonstrated that boys express a stronger preference for the masculine role than do girls for the feminine role. Both boys and girls from kindergarten to grade five prefer to be fathers than mothers. From ages six to nine, most girls show a very strong preference for masculine in contrast to feminine playthings. Also relevant is the study

conducted by Raab and Lipsit (1965) which demonstrated that preschool Negro children preferred to play with white dolls when given white and Negro dolls to play with. It seems that the process of accepting values of the dominant community is the same for low status groups -- female or Negro.

Lynn (1959, 1961) found that there was a progressive increase from age eight in the unfavorability of the female stereotype. A greater proportion of females than males adopt characteristics of the role of the opposite sex. Further, it was established that with increasing age, males become more firmly identified with the masculine role while females become less firmly identified with the feminine role. Lynn (1959) explains his results as follows:

> The girl quickly learns to prefer the masculine role since our culture, despite definite changes, is still masculine-centered and masculine-oriented, and offers the male many privileges not accorded the female (p. 129).

Sex-role conflict.

This early learned preference for the masculine role is not without consequence. Brown (1958) suggests that:

> In view of the finding that masculine role preference appears to be widespread among girls, it might be hypothesized that conflict or confusion will be conspicuous in their sex-role development (p. 237).

That this indeed may be so is demonstrated by Lynn (1961) who substantiated the hypothesis that "With increasing age, males develop psychological disturbances at a more slowly accelerating rate than females (p. 381)."

The works of Bettelheim (1962) and Komarovsky (1946, 1950, 1953) show that sex-role conflict continues for girls throughout adolescence.

Bettleheim (1962) maintains that the growing girl is officially encouraged to compete with boys in the schoolroom, to develop her mind and her initiative; but subtlely learns she is expected to give up her interests and find deep fulfillment in taking care of a child, a home, a mate.

Komarovsky (1946) obtained evidence that college women experience role conflict as they become aware that they are faced with the expectations of two mutually exclusive roles -- the "feminine" role of homemaker and the "modern" role of career girl. She concluded that in experiencing these inconsistencies women suffered from uncertainty and insecurity. Bettelheim (1962) describes the dilemma of the young woman as follows:

> ...she must shape herself to please a complex male image of what she should be like -- but alas it is often an image having little to do with her own real desires or potentialities... (p. 120).

That women are expected to adjust to the sex-role stereotype, and further, that they are seen as unhealthy and immature if they don't, is born out in a study by Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, and Vogel (1970). It was found that both male and female clinicians have different concepts of health for men and women, and that these differences parallel the sex-role stereotypes prevelant in society. The clinicians' concepts of a healthy, mature man do not differ significantly from their concepts of a healthy adult. However, the clinicians' concepts of a mature, healthy woman do differ significantly from their adult health concepts. The results were explained as follows:

> ...the double standard of health for men and women stems from the clinicians' acceptance of an adjustment notion of health; for example, health consists of a good adjustment to one's environment...
>
> Thus, for a woman to be healthy from an adjustment viewpoint she must adjust to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex, even though these behaviors are generally less socially desirable and considered to be less healthy for the generalized competent, mature adult. (p. 6)

The conflict for women, then, seems to be as follows: women must decide whether to (a) behave in a "feminine" manner and accept a second class citizenship, and probably live a lie, or (b) exhibit the positive characteristics desirable for men and adults in general and have their "femininity" questioned (Broverman et al., 1970). This may result in what Shainess (1969) refers to as a "schizophrenic split in women's own image of their own roles (p. 93)." A further complication to the conflict results upon realizing that the stereotypic image is a paradox in and of itself, full of contradictions, ambiguities and inconsistencies (Gray, 1957; Hacker, 1951; Hawley, 1970; Komarovsky, 1946; Steinman, 1963). On the one hand it includes favorable traits such as sensitivity, sympathy, cherishing behaviour, but on the other hand it assumes inferiority, dependency, submission, and weakness (Terman and Miles, 1936).

Rostow (1965) discusses the two conflicting goals of educated women. They have learned that society expects them to find their greatest fulfillment in marriage and motherhood and yet their education has taught them to obtain self-realization in their own work and interests. If they accept both they experience frustration and conflict and if they choose one goal they experience a sense of failure

around the other. Bernard (1964) found that the career woman experienced role conflict upon realizing that she is expected to be intelligent and yet is responded to as a sex object.

Resolving the conflict.

It seems that no matter how the conflict is resolved, most women experience difficulty with their sex-role. Many women are attempting to play both the traditional and modern roles and as a result of the double duty of a career and homemaking are thoroughly overworked. However, if they give up one role they are likely to experience a loss of self-esteem and a sense of failure (Komarovsky, 1953). Further, Komarovsky (1946) found that generally, girls with middle-of-the-road personalities were the happiest and the best adjusted. They were capable but not too bright, and were flexible enough to learn to play both the traditionally feminine and the modern roles well.

There is much evidence from the literature to support the notion that many women, too, adopt the feminine stereotype and 'live a lie'. Komarovsky (1953) found that 40% of the undergraduate women have "played dumb" on dates by concealing academic honor, pretending ignorance of a subject, or playing down certain skills. The 60% who didn't included those whose interests and abilities fit safely within the confines of the female stereotype. Dixon (1970) believes that:

> Girls and women are taught to be socially irrelevant, passive, to hide their natural abilities, to fear self-expression, lest they be called a 'castrating' woman. When people are taught that they are inferior, and when society demands that they act inferior, it is not surprising that they appear to be inferior (p. 37).

This tendancy to put oneself down, to play at being inferior, is simil-

arly common to minority group members (Allport, 1958; Hacker, 1951).

Thompson (1942) maintains that with all the unpleasantness attached to being a woman, being inferior, being restricted, and being in the power of someone, women must be discontent. "...being a woman may mean negation of her feelings of self, a denial of the chance to be an independent person (p. 339)." Being discontent may lead to rejection of the feminine role and instead a strong identification with the masculine role. However, women who choose this solution encounter a different set of problems. In seeking fulfillment in areas other than those defined by the stereotype role they may be considered abnormal. When a man quits his office job to find more fulfilling work he is understood and even admired. But when a woman quits her household job for the same reason she's considered unfeminine, selfish, or downright crazy (Chesler, 1972).

Hewer and Nuebeck (1964) found that both men and women freshmen at the University of Minnesota agreed that normal women have no need to seek outlets for their abilities outside the home. Then too, the previously discussed Broverman et al. (1970) study found that clinicians believed a well-adjusted woman should fit the feminine role.

Indeed, it seems that women who desire fulfillment in areas beyond the boundaries of the feminine role, risk the negation of their femininity. Women who dare enter the male athletic world and participate in sport, face criticism for not being feminine or womanly (Hart, 1971). The conflicts faced by women who reject the feminine stereotype by developing an independent personal career have also been researched (Freeman, 1971; Gornick, 1972; Horner, 1971). It was found that the more successful or independent a woman becomes the more afraid society

is that she has lost her femininity and therefore must be a failure as a wife and mother. "Whereas men are unsexed by failure, women are unsexed by success (Horner, 1971, p. 106)." Further, in her study of anxiety regarding achievement, Horner (1971) learned that achieving women fear social rejection, are concerned about their normalacy and femininity and deny their achievements. She concludes:

> Even when legal and educational barriers to achievement are removed, the motive to avoid success will inhibit women from doing 'too well' and thereby risking the possibility of being socially rejected as 'unfeminine' or 'castrating' (p. 121).

Steinem's (1972b) research on women's voting behaviour suggests that while women's attitude toward other women may be changing, they still see change for themselves as improbable. Steinem states that according to the Harris-Setlow poll, three out of five women questioned felt that women should be more active politically but only one out of six were actually active. It seems that women are becoming less likely to look for male leaders, but they are looking to other women rather than to themselves. The reasons given for their own lack of involvement were: (a) they are afraid of neglecting their husbands and children and of being seen as unfeminine or unladylike, (b) they resent being given the 'dirty work', and (c) they believe that men are actively trying to keep them out of politics. The areas of decision-making in which women see themselves as competent reflect their acceptance of the feminine stereotype -- they are against war, attach greater value to human life, wish to protect the consumer, and do not wish to be involved in big business or the military. Further,

it seems that women vote in the same direction as the black community on issues such as war and peace, and capital punishment. Like other minority group members, they are more sensitive to the poor and under-privileged than are men. Says Steinem (1972b):

> Even when the only females questioned are white women, they often think somewhat more like blacks or other "out" groups than they do like their white male counterparts (p. 50).

Mental health.

It seems that no matter how women try to resolve their sex-role conflict, they come out losing--either their sense of self or their femininity. According to Shainess (1969), "...women are increasingly losing contact with their inner selves--their sentience--and as a result become further alienated from meaningful life (p. 79)." Choosing one role and rejecting the other has not been a satisfactory solution because the roles themselves have become obsolete and meaningless (Thompson, 1942; Trilling, 1965). The results of forcing women into roles that are no longer satisfying are discussed by Webb (1970):

> When these roles fail to satisfy, as they do, women resort to the salves of all oppressed groups. They take to drugs and drink, and if they can afford it, to psychiatry. Indicies of rising drinking and drug use, let alone psychiatric care, show that during the last two decades American consumption has zoomed way ahead of any previous predictions (p. 112 - 113).

Mannes (1964) distinguishes between a healthy anxiety as a part of the pain of growth and development from accessory to partnership, and

the destructive anxieties which result from the pressures of society and the mass media to make women conform to the classic and traditional image in men's eyes. There is much evidence in the research as to the prevelance of these destructive anxieties among young girls and women. Terman and Tyler (1954) found that girls in relation to boys were more nervous, unstable, neurotic, socially depressed, submissive, less self-confident, had lower opinions of themselves and others, and were more timid, emotional, ministrative, fearful, and passive. Further, the girls were described in terms of their sensitivity, conformity to social pressure, sympathy, low-level aspirations, compassion for the under-privileged, and anxiety. The traits used by Terman and Tyler to describe girls are strangely reminicent of those used by Allport (1958) to describe minority group members.

Langner and Michael (1963), in a study of mental health, found that women reported a greater number of psychoneurotic and psycho-physiological symptoms, and are more likely to be admitted to mental hospitals. Curtis (1970) reports similarly, that females score higher on anxiety scales than do males. Emotional and physical difficulties after childbirth and during menopause, and the higher incidence of college girl than college boy breakdowns is discussed by Rossi (1965). Chesler (1971) reports that in the United States from 1964 through 1968, 125,351 more women than men were psychiatrically hospitalized for mental illness or treated as out-patients. And 223,268 more women than men were hospitalized in state and county mental hospitals from 1950 through 1968. Even among nonhospitalized adults who are supposedly normal, women are more psychologically distressed than men. In 1969 Phillips and Segal reported that when the numbers of physical

and mental illnesses were held constant for women and men, women were more likely to seek medical and psychiatric care.

The statistics on the mental health of women are startling because they flaunt the common myth of privileged female happiness. And the myth that the health of the married is generally better than that of the single has too been exposed (Bird, 1971). By means of a careful breakdown of age, sex, and marital status, a United States Public Health Service inquiry found that single women are much better off than married women and that they were strikingly free of nervous symptoms. Chesler (1972) believes that:

> Women are seeking help because they are really oppressed and unhappy--really confined to a very limited role-sphere--and because the female social role encourages help-seeking, self-blaming, and distress-reporting behaviour. This does not mean that such behaviour is either valued or treated with kindness by our culture. On the contrary, both husbands and clinicians experience and judge it as annoying, inconvenient, stubborn, childish, and tyrannical (p. 111).

Lack of a group identity.

To this point, the behaviours attributed to women have been paralleled to the behaviours of members of a minority group. However, there is a point at which the minority group analogy breaks down, where, in fact, women seem to be even worse off than minority-group members. And this is women's isolation from each other (Albert, 1966; Brown, 1969; Greer, 1970, 1972; Kammeyer, 1964; Shainess, 1970; Steinim, 1972a; Trilling, 1965). As a subgroup, women are geographically scattered throughout the population and physically isolated from each other with little chance for closeness or meaningful personal interchange. They have developed no close ingroup ties to bind them

together. Unlike the Jews and Negroes, who live in ghettos apart from the dominant group, they have developed no specifically feminine humor to bind them together (Shainess, 1969). The mother-in-law jokes and the jokes about the dumb blonde and the farmer's daughter are all told by men or by women who have adopted the male values.

Hacker (1951) has related women's lack of a group identity to their socialization and personality development:

> ...the minority group person does not suffer discrimination from members of his own group. But only rarely does a woman experience this type of group belongingness. Her interactions with members of the opposite sex may be as frequent as her relationships with members of her own sex. Women's conceptions of themselves, therefore spring as much from their intimate relationships with men as with women... (p. 61).

In support of this notion is the theory that given a state of psychological arousal for which an individual has no immediate explanation, he will label his state and describe his feelings in terms of the cognitions available to him (Schacter and Singer, 1969). That is, women, because of their isolation from and lack of communication with other women, will describe themselves in terms of the prevailing male attitudes toward them.

Perception of and acceptance of self.

According to Mead (1934) the self is something which develops out of a process of social experience and activity, and involves taking the attitudes of others toward oneself. On the basis of the research presented so far, it seems reasonable to expect that like other minority group members, women's perception of and acceptance of self would reflect their self-hate and lack of self-esteem. "...one's concept of oneself

becomes based on one's class or power position in a hierarchy (Robinson, 1969, p. 210)." It is expected that women generally will perceive themselves in relation to the feminine stereotype. Thus women who accept the feminine stereotype will be expected to choose adjectives that fit that stereotype (submissive, passive, emotional, other-oriented, unsuccessful, etc.) to describe themselves. On the other hand, women who reject the feminine stereotype will be expected to choose more masculine adjectives (dominant, active, intellectual, self-oriented, successful, etc.) to describe themselves. Further, it seems likely that women who accept the stereotype will perceive themselves as similar to other women, while women who reject the stereotype will perceive themselves as different from other women. It may be, however, that because of the isolation factor and lack of a group identity, women will generally see themselves as different from other women.

The expectation of this study, based on the research presented, is that in keeping with the feminine stereotype, women's self-acceptance will generally be low. This will be true especially of traditional women who believe they must play the feminine role. The exceptions to this, ie., women with high self-acceptance, will be those women who have accepted the feminine role and feel comfortable in it, and those who are playing the masculine role.

Affiliation with Other Women

> So women use each other as best they can under
> the circumstances, to keep out the cold...
> No woman trusts another because she understands

the desperation.

B. Jones (1969, p. 221-222)

The acceptance of the feminine stereotype for women, the denigration of so-called female characteristics, the lack of a group identity, and the conflict and anxiety experienced by women around their sex-role identity seem to logically lead to women's dissociation of themselves from their own group. In theory, this should be the case according to Rogers (1951) who states that "most of the ways of behaving which are adopted by the organism are those which are consistent with the concept of self (p. 507)."

In his discussion of minority group behaviour, Allport (1958) agrees. He maintains that one of the responses a minority group member may make to accommodate to his status is to deny his membership in the disparaged group. Similarly, Kitagawa (1965) states that identification with a minority group is a source of embarrassment to its members, and Cayton, (1965) refers to an "oppression phobia" which may result in a fear of and isolation from the group. Steinem (1972a) summarizes the problem as it relates to women:

> This is the most tragic punishment that society inflicts on any second-class group. Ultimately, the brain-washing works, and we see ourselves come to believe our group is inferior. Even if we achieve a little success in the world and think of ourselves as "different", we don't want to associate with our group. We want to identify up, not down... We want to be the only woman in the office, or the only black family on the block, or the only Jew in the club (p. 49).

The phenomenon of the "tomboy" who prefers to climb trees, etc. with boys rather than sit quietly with girls is common knowledge and is discussed in the literature as well (Cohen, 1966; Hart, 1971; Shaw

and Ort, 1953; Westervelt, 1972). That adult women, too, tend to dissociate themselves from members of their own sex has been extensively documented in the literature (Bird et al., 1970; Degler, 1965; Duvergers, 1955; Greer, 1970; Haavio-Mannilo, 1969; Hacker, 1951; Minturn and Weidmann, 1967; Steinem, 1972a, 1972b; Remmers and Radler, 1957; Rossi, 1965; Watson, 1966; White, 1950; Woolsey-Toews, 1972).

Hacker, (1951) maintains that evidence of women's self-hate is their stated dislike for other women, repugnance toward exclusively female gatherings, and preference for working under men. White (1950) also found with undergraduate women, that women's clubs prefer men speakers and that women tend to dislike working for women bosses. That women shun working under a woman executive and are bored by gatherings exclusively female was again demonstrated by Watson (1966). Also in support of these findings is Minturn's and Weidemann's (1967) unpublished study investigating the effects of race, religion, and sex as determinants of social distance ratings in task-oriented situations. For all status levels (superior, peer, and subordinate), men were preferred to women (and Whites to Negroes); both males and females preferred male co-workers to female co-workers.

That women prefer men's company more often than men do women's was demonstrated by Haavio-Mannilo (1969) and Tiger (1969) and discussed in detail by Greer (1970). The tendancy for women not to choose to meet in same-sex groups is established by adolescence according to the works of Douvan and Adelson (1966) and Jones (1969). This is not surprising considering the previously mentioned studies on sex-role preference (Brown, 1956, 1957, 1958; Lynn, 1959, 1961). There is evidence too,

that such behaviour has occurred historically and cross-culturally (Duvergers, 1955; Millet, 1970; Tiger, 1969).

Probably the most recent findings on women's affiliation preferences, and certainly one of the most relevant to this study, is the unpublished dissertation of Woolsey-Toews (1972). In her findings these impressions became clear:

(a) Women prefer to be with women to work, to do important tasks and for companionship, less than men prefer to be with men.

(b) Women who were previously rated high on competency and low on warmth were least likely to want to do important tasks with women.

(c) Highly competent women identified with other women to a lesser extent and low competent women identified with other women to a much greater extent.

(d) Highly competent women tended to dissociate themselves from the feminine stereotype to a greater extent than did the low competent women.

(e) Women prefer women as personal friends more than men prefer men.

(f) Women's loyalty to women is stronger than men's loyalty to men.

(g) Women's attitudes toward women's groups are more favorable than men's attitudes towards men's groups.

(h) In general, highly competent women tended to prefer to affiliate with other women to a lesser extent than did low competent women.

It seems that women's attitudes toward men and other women still reflect their acceptance of the stereotypes. They prefer women as personal friends and themselves are loyal to women and supportive of women's groups, but prefer to work, to do important tasks, and to socialize with men. Further, the highly competent women seem to have rejected the feminine stereotype and adopted the masculine stereotype to a greater extent than the low competent women.

The expectations of this study with regard to women's affiliation with other women, are that generally, traditional women will tend not to prefer to affiliate with other women. In situations where the masculine stereotype is upheld (example: work, important tasks, companionship) it is expected that traditional women will prefer to affiliate with men. However, in situations when the feminine stereotype is positive toward women (example: personal friendships) it is expected that traditional women will prefer to affiliate with women. Further, it is expected that among the four traditional groups there will be some differences in affiliation preferences.

Consciousness-raising Groups: Their Relation to the Major Issues

> I have pointed out that the inferiority feelings which Freud considered to be specifically female and biologically determined can be explained as developments arising in and growing out of Western woman's historic situation of underprivilege, restriction of development, insincere attitude toward the sexual nature, and social and economic dependency. The basic nature of woman is still unknown.
>
> Thompson (1942, p. 339)

> Men think we're whatever it is we do for men... It's only by getting together with other women that we'll ever find out who we are.
>
> a housewife (cited by Steinem, 1972a, p.50)

The technique of consciousness-raising was originally developed by the Chinese Communists to get down-trodden Chinese peasants to recognize their oppression, and was adopted by American radicals to stir up apathetic rural Negroes (Bird, 1968). Radical women who listened to what Negroes said found that the form as well as the content of these sessions spoke to their condition. Since 1966, women have been meeting in this manner in an attempt to expand their own awareness of

their status in relation to society at large, to understand how this has affected their lives, and to offer support to each other in their efforts to initiate change (Morgan, 1970).

Women's perceptions of and attitudes toward both themselves and other women, and their affiliation preferences are the very issues of concern to the members of consciousness-raising groups associated with the Women's Liberation Movement. In the words of Brown (1969):

> What is central to our problem is our complete alienation from other women. We will have to get out of our houses and meet them on serious issues... We will need each other's support and advice to achieve liberation... No woman can go this alone. The territory is new, frightening, and appears lonely... We must begin by forming organizations which will provide emotional support and an intellectual base for framing action (p. 227).

The consciousness-raising groups offer women an alternative to their isolation. They provide women with a territory of their own, free from threat, free from the expectations of a male-oriented society, and free from the roles of wife, mother, sex-object, hostess, helper, social appendage, domestic, etc. Here women can talk intimately and informally about their experiences as <u>women</u>. Here too, they are listened to and responded to, and given support. Speaking openly and honestly, they have a chance to discover that there is nothing wrong with them because they aren't perfectly happy and fulfilled in the feminine role. "And because much of this material is repressed, a consciousness-raising session is almost always therapeutic...(Bird,1968, p. 216)." Within the safety of the group women can question the traditional roles they are playing and together search out new identities and new solutions. Pogrebin (1972) explains that women in

consciousness-raising groups learn not to wound women to win men, not to capitalize on the credentials of a lover, husband, or offspring, and not to acquire vicarious status by their house, jewellery, sex, vacations, car, paintings, etc.

In essence, the consciousness-raising groups are teaching and supporting the value of "sisterhood" -- "an affinity for other women... the realization that women may seek each other out as allies, true intimates, and friends (Rossi, 1972, p. 40)." It arises from the understanding on the part of women that their backgrounds as women in this society have given them reservoirs of common experience. And when this awareness is finally achieved it enables women to transcend the differences that often keep people apart. This contention is supported by Steinem (1972a) who states:

> The odd thing about these deep and personal connections of women is that they often ignore barriers of race, economics, wordly experience, age, culture-- all the barriers that, in male or mixed society had seemed so difficult to cross (p. 48).

The analogy of women to a minority group has been drawn throughout this chapter in relation to the questions regarding women's perceptions of themselves and other women, their self-acceptance, and their affiliation preferences. Further understanding of the consciousness-raising group process might also be gained from an examination of what blacks and women hope to achieve. According to Rossi (1969) both blacks and women are questioning the structure of American society as it now exists -- blacks don't want racial integration, women don't want sexual equality, neither wants "a machine and consumption-oriented society that rewards technological prowess in a 'plasticWasp-9-5america'

(p. 184)." What they do want is "a more meaningful sense of community and a greater depth to personal relations across class, sex, and racial lines; a stress on human fellowship and individual scope for creativity (p. 184)." And their methods for achieving this goal are similar as well.

The goal of the black psychology movement is to help all Afro-Americans appreciate the necessity for becoming black (Gardner, Thomas, and Harris, 1970). Similarly, the goal of the women's movement is to help all women appreciate the necessity for becoming women, becoming 'sisters'. Both movements are supporting their members' efforts to gain self-esteem, to define themselves in terms of their own potential and to master their environment by changing it. The five stages for blacks to affirming their blackness are as follows (Gardner, Thomas, and Harris, 1970):

(a) convincing whites that they are worthwhile

(b) testifying to the pain endured and expressing anxieties about being black

(c) obtaining information on their cultural heritage

(d) becoming active with blacks and finding a link to the larger black world

(e) transcending race, age, sex, and social class differences and through one's unique blackness, see oneself as part of humanity.

Changing 'whites' to 'men' and 'blacks' to 'women' in the above sequence is all that is needed to describe the process that women go through in obtaining sisterhood and, in accepting themselves as women, finally becoming unique individuals. And in the last stage, when all differences are transcended, liberation is achieved. The consciousness-raising group "is a means to free energy and competence that are badly

needed in all areas of activity (Rubin, 1964, p. 240)."

The expectations of this study, that women who have belonged to a consciousness-raising group will behave differently from women who belong to traditional groups, seems logical in light of certain psychological theories and research. Rogers (1947) believes that when the self is free from threat it becomes possible to consider rejected perceptions, make new differentiations and reintegrate the self. Festinger (1964) maintains that if a person is made to feel confident he will expose himself to information initially dissonant or conflicting and will attempt to reinterpret and reintegrate this information. Schein and Bennis (1965) similarly believe that an environment of maximum psychological safety, of reduced threat and restored equilibrium is necessary to create a climate of support and encouragement in which people can openly share their reactions and feelings. Given these conditions, they will discover a strength which makes possible the learning of new norms, increased awareness, changed attitudes, and greater interpersonal competence. Gibb (1964) maintains that a person grows through his increased acceptance of himself and others, and that in order to achieve this he must overcome the defensive feelings of fear and distrust that are learned in most cultures.

That changes in perceptions and attitudes can take place under the conditions described above is evidenced in the literature (Bradford, Gibb, and Benne, 1964; Burke and Bennis, 1961; Clark and Culbert, 1965; Egan, 1970; Mann, 1965; Rogers and Dymond, 1954; Schein and Bennis, 1965). There is evidence too that women who belong to various women's groups (professional, politically radical, consciousness-

raising, or the National Organization for Women) have different perceptions from nongroup women (Tavris, 1972). In her survey of almost 20,000 readers of "Psychology Today" Tavris found that group-women see men as better off, see special courtesies as demeaning, are 81% in favor of the Women's Liberation Movement and strongly approve of their proposals on public day care, abortion, equalitarian housekeeping and childrearing, non-sexist childrearing, equal rights for women, and preferential treatment in hiring women. Nongroup women tend to agree that children of working mothers are less well adjusted and that raising a child is a fulltime job, tend to blame themselves for not doing better, and are more likely to refuse a job if their husbands are not happy with them working. It seems that non-group women are beginning to change however. 61% of the nongroup women stated that they were in favor of the Women's Liberation Movement. Non-group women and group women reported very similar sexual experiences and the awareness of being perceived as a sex-object.

Tavris' breakdown of the differences between women in professional groups (P Women) and those in consciousness-raising groups (CR Women) is especially relevant to this study. She found that 43% of CR women compared to 20% P women like women more than they used to, 64% of CR women compared to 45% P women are more self-confident about combining a career and marriage, and 69% of CR women compared to 50% P women are more optomistic about working.

The expectation of this study for consciousness-raising group women, is that they will have been successful, to some extent at least, in seeing beyond the feminine stereotype image of women and in teaching 'sisterhood'. Specifically, it is expected that in relation to women

in more traditional groups they will:

(a) perceive themselves differently;

(b) perceive other women differently;

(c) be less discrepant in their perceptions of themselves and other women;

(d) have a greater sense of self-acceptance;

(e) prefer to affiliate with women to a greater extent.

These expectations are based on the assumption that the aims of the consciousness-raising groups, as outlined in this study, are being accomplished. It might be the case, however, that some women are still in the process of formulating a new identity and consequently their confusion may be manifested in the test results.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Sample

The study sample consisted of 127 women who belonged to a consciousness-raising group or one of four traditional groups, chosen for the following reasons:

(a) 28 members of consciousness-raising groups, (CR group) which had met for a period of from four months to two years, chosen because they are questioning the stereotyped image of woman and examining their attitudes toward other women and themselves as women.

(b) 29 members of the Graduate Students' Wives Club (W group) whose membership in the club was dependent on their husbands' status as graduate students.

(c) 17 members of the University branch of the Mormon Relief Society, (M group) chosen because their teachings perpetuate traditional attitudes toward women and encourage women to play the feminine role.

(d) 25 members of summer school classes in Early Childhood Education, (E group) chosen because they are active in a sex-typed career, ie., a career that fits within the boundaries of the feminine stereotype.

(e) 28 members of the Soroptomist and Zonta clubs for business executives and professional career women, (C group) chosen because they are active in a non-sex-typed career, ie., a career

more or less outside the boundaries of the feminine stereotype.

Testing Instruments

Four testing instruments were used in this study:

(a) Perception of Self Semantic Differential Scale (POS)

(b) Perception of Other Women Semantic Differential Scale (POW)

(c) Berger Self-Acceptance Scale, 1952 (SAS)

(d) Woolsey-Toews Affiliation Questionnaire, 1972 (AQ).

In addition a Personal Information Questionnaire (PIQ) was administered to obtain background information on the subjects. The PIQ is expected to provide a more detailed description of the groups. A copy of the PIQ and the general instructions for all of the questionnaires are found in Appendix A.

The POS and POW Semantic Differential Instruments were used to obtain a profile of the different group's perceptions of other women and of themselves, and a discrepancy score between these perceptions for each scale. The two instruments are identical in form, consisting of forty pairs of bipolar descriptive adjectives, randomly ordered and randomly arranged at either end of a five point scale. The forms are differentiated by their titles; POS is entitled "I am..." and POW is entitled "Other women are...". A copy of the test form and the instructions for both scales are included in Appendix B.

The POS and POW test form was constructed for this study on the basis of the research on the semantic differential technique for studying stereotypes (Friedman and Gladen, 1964; Prothro and Keehn,

1957; Snider, 1962), and the research on attitudes toward women reviewed in Chapter II. The extensive research done on the semantic differential technique attests to its validity and reliability as a technique (Snider and Osgood, 1969).

The Berger SAS was used to measure self-acceptance among groups. It consists of 36 items to be answered on a 5 point scale ranging from "not at all true of myself" to "true of myself." A copy of the test form and instructions are included in Appendix C.

Berger prepared an initial scale containing 47 statements on self-acceptance to be used in conjunction with a scale measuring acceptance of others. These scales were administered to 200 students, ages 17 to 45. An item analysis was performed in which those respondents whose total scores were in the top 25% were compared on each item with those in the bottom 25%. The best items, in terms of relevance to the definition of self-acceptance and discriminative ability, were chosen for inclusion in the final scales.

Matched-half reliabilities were computed on seven different groups of subjects and the Spearman-Brown formula was then used to estimate whole-test reliability. These estimates were all .894 or greater except for one group which was .746. Evidence for the scale's validity was presented by an average intercorrelation of .897 of the scale with essays written by 20 subjects about themselves and scored for self-acceptance by four judges. Berger also discusses several group differences which give further evidence to the scale's validity.

The test is scored as follows:

A. Not at all true of myself 1

B. Slightly true of myself 2

C. About half-way true of myself 3

D. Mostly true of myself 4

E. True of myself 5

For items 2, 7, 15, 19, 21, 25, 27, and 32 the scoring order is reversed. A low score (below 108) represents high self-acceptance, and a high score (above 108) represents low self-acceptance. One hundred eight is the midpoint, arrived at when all responses to the 36 questions are C, with a given score of 3.

The Woolsey-Toews AQ was used to measure group differences in affiliation preferences. It was originally developed as part of a dissertation, as yet unpublished, to examine differences between the sexes on same-sex affiliation. Two forms of the test are available, one for women and one for men.

Initially, 100 items were developed and tested in a pilot study involving 102 male and female biology students at Acadia University. A factor analysis on these items revealed the following 10 scales:

Scale 1. Important Tasks
Scale 2. Companionship
Scale 3. Working Relationships
Scale 4. Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Groups
Scale 5. Personal Friendship
Scale 6. Dependency Relationships
Scale 7. Acceptance of Sex-Role Labels
Scale 8. Loyalty
Scale 9. Pride in Same-Sex Groups
Scale 10. Dissociation from the Stereotype

Thirty-four items which did not cluster with the 10 scales were eliminated, leaving a total of 66 items.

The very significant differences found between the sexes on Scales 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 are the beginnings of establishing construct validity. As well, the differences between different groups

of women apparent on Scales 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, and 10 also establish some construct validity.

The test form for women was adapted to scoring procedures available for this study and in the adapted form consists of 78 items. A copy of this test form and instructions are included in Appendix D. The scoring procedures for the total test and for the 10 scales are included in Appendix E.

Procedure

The subjects were initially contacted in person or by telephone to obtain a personal commitment to take part in the study. One hundred fifty-nine subjects volunteered to answer the questionnaires. The PIQ, POS, POW, SAS, and AQ were distributed in person or by mail to the subjects along with complete instructions and a stamped return envelope. Subjects were asked not to discuss the questions with other members of the group until after they had completed and returned the questionnaires. One hundred twenty-seven subjects returned a satisfactorily completed set of questionnaires. Follow-up telephone calls were necessary in order to insure the return of some of these.

Table 1 summarizes the return rates of the questionnaire forms for the sample groups.

TABLE 1

QUESTIONNAIRE RETURN RATES FOR SAMPLE GROUPS

GROUPS	NUMBER OF VOLUNTEERS	NUMBER RETURNED	NUMBER SPOILED OR RETURNED LATE	NUMBER NOT RETURNED
CR	35	28	5	2
W	35	29	3	3
M	30	17	4	9
E	30	25	1	4
C	30	28	1	1

To insure anonymity and to identify the subjects as belonging to a particular group, each subject was assigned a number which was used on all of the questionnaires.

The PIQ, POS, POW, SAS, and AQ took approximately one hour to self-administer.

Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that:

1 The CR group will respond differently from the W, M, E, and C groups, to the adjectives used to describe other women.

II The CR group will respond differently from the W, M, E, and C groups, to the adjectives used to describe themselves.

III The C group will respond differently from the W, M, and E groups, to the adjectives used to describe themselves.

IV There will be a lesser discrepancy between scores on adjectives used to describe other women and themselves for the CR group, than for the W, M, E, and C groups.

V The CR group will have a higher self-acceptance than the W, M, E, and C groups.

VI The CR group will prefer to affiliate with other women to a greater extent than will the W, M, E, and C groups.

VII There will be some variation among the W, M, E, and C groups as to their affiliation preferences.

Statistical Analysis

In testing the first hypothesis, a frequency table was calculated for each adjective scale for the five groups. Chi-square analyses were made in order to determine if there were relationships between group membership and scale position for the CR group paired with every other group.

Likewise, in testing the second and third hypotheses, a frequency table was calculated for each scale for the five groups, and chi-square analyses made for every pair of groups.

In testing the fourth hypothesis, the absolute difference between scores on the POS and the POW were calculated on each adjective

scale for the five groups. These differences were summed over the total scales to get a discrepancy score. A one-way analysis of variance on the discrepancy score was carried out to test for differences in mean discrepancies.

In testing the fifth hypothesis a one-way analysis of variance was carried out to test for the differences in group means on the SAS.

In testing the sixth and seventh hypotheses, a one-way analysis of variance was carried out for the five groups on each scale of the AQ.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For ease of reader interpretation a brief description of the sample groups is included at this point.

CR - women who belong to consciousness-raising groups

W - members of the Graduate Students' Wives Club

M - members of the University Mormon Relief Society

E - elementary school teachers enrolled in Early Childhood Education courses

C - business and professional career women who are members of the Soroptomists or Zonta clubs

The PIQ

A chi-square test of independence was calculated on the five groups for the 27 items of the PIQ. Items showing significant differences at the .05 level are found in Table 2.

TABLE 2

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES ON THE PIQ

FOR THE SAMPLE GROUPS

QUESTION	GROUPS	PERCENTAGE RESPONSES				
1. age		24 and under	25 - 29	30 - 34	35 - 39	40 and over
	CR	32	39	7	11	11
	W	14	45	28	7	7
	M	71	24	6	0	0
	E	36	32	0	4	28
	C	0	7	3	7	82

TABLE 2 (continued)

QUESTION GROUPS		PERCENTAGE RESPONSES				
2. marital status		single	married	separated, divorced	widowed	remarried
	CR	36	32	25	0	7
	W	0	100	0	0	0
	M	77	24	0	0	0
	E	28	68	0	4	0
	C	46	29	11	11	4
12. work		part-time	full-time	do not work		
	CR	29	53	18		
	W	14	10	76		
	M	29	65	6		
	E	7	79	14		
	C	7	90	4		
18. political views		radical	somewhat liberal	moderate	somewhat conservative	apathetic
	CR	54	39	0	0	7
	W	7	52	21	17	3
	M	6	6	31	44	13
	E	0	16	40	36	8
	C	0	22	44	30	4
19. number clubs attended		none	one	two	three	four +
	CR	7	32	21	21	18
	W	3	31	24	24	17
	M	0	38	31	13	19
	E	28	32	32	8	0
	C	7	7	26	30	30
20. number all-female clubs attended		none	one	two	three	four +
	CR	12	39	35	15	0
	W	3	52	31	10	3
	M	31	63	0	0	6
	E	65	35	0	0	0
	C	0	58	27	12	4

TABLE 2 (continued)

QUESTION GROUPS		PERCENTAGE RESPONSES				
21. club evaluation		very interesting	interesting	neither	boring	very boring
	CR	75	21	4	0	0
	W	17	69	10	3	0
	M	75	25	0	0	0
	E	9	73	9	9	0
	C	36	48	12	0	4
22. club evaluation		very worthless	worthless	neither	worthwhile	very worthwhile
	CR	4	4	0	0	91
	W	0	0	21	62	17
	M	8	0	8	17	67
	E	0	8	23	62	8
	C	0	4	8	50	38

Although the education level of the subjects and that of their fathers and mothers (items 3, 4, and 5) was not significantly different for the five groups the percentages are included here in Table 3 to provide more information on the sample groups.

TABLE 3

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS FOR SAMPLE GROUPS

Person		grade school	partial high school	high school	college, university	graduate training
member's fathers	CR	11	21	32	21	14
	W	31	14	21	21	4
	M	29	29	12	12	18
	E	64	12	16	8	0
	C	48	22	15	4	11
member's mothers	CR	14	21	32	14	18
	W	17	21	28	21	4
	M	12	24	41	12	12
	E	25	42	21	4	8
	C	48	15	22	7	7
group members	CR	0	7	32	29	32
	W	0	0	28	45	28
	M	0	0	53	41	6
	E	0	0	28	56	16
	C	4	7	44	15	30

The Hypotheses

For purposes of clarity and ease of reader interpretation each hypothesis is restated, followed by the pertinent statistical findings and directly related discussion.

Hypothesis I

The CR group will respond differently from the W, M, E, and C

groups, to the adjectives used to describe other women.

Results

A chi-square test was used to determine differences in response patterns between the CR group and each of the other groups. Scales showing significant differences at the .05 level are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

SIGNIFICANT SCALES FOR HYPOTHESIS I

(DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CR GROUP AND OTHERS ON THE POW)

Scale	CR-W	CR-M	CR-E	CR-C
other-oriented - self-oriented			X	X
emotional - intellectual			X	X
masculine - feminine	X	X		X
complex - simple			X	

From Table 5 (Appendix F) it is apparent that the CR group tended to rate other women more to the other-oriented end of the scale and the E and C groups tended to rate other women more to the self-oriented end of the scale. Further, the CR group tended to rate other women as neither emotional nor intellectual while the E and C groups tended to rate other women more to the emotional end of the scale. The

W, M, and C groups tended to rate other women more to the feminine end of the scale than did the CR group. Finally, the CR group tended to rate other women more to the complex end of the scale than did the E group.

Discussion

That the CR group tends to rate other women as more other-oriented and complex, and less emotional and feminine suggests that the goals of consciousness-raising groups to make women more aware of women's position and to break down the feminine stereotype are to some extent being met. It is also apparent (see Table 5, Appendix F) however, that the CR group and the traditional groups tend to agree to a great extent in their ratings of other women. They similarly rate other women as somewhat honest, good, moral, friendly, graceful, fair, kind, and cooperative; these being positive qualities within the boundaries of the feminine stereotype. Negative qualities within the feminine stereotype were similarly rated by all groups across the scales. Scales rated in this manner were self-confident - nervous, aggressive - timid, stable - changeable, static - dynamic, active - passive. That all groups value women to some extent is seen by their similar ratings of other women as important and socially valuable. Too, that other women are seen as flexible and strong by all groups is indicative of a positive perception. However, all of the groups seem to perceive that limitations are placed on women, as indicated by their ratings of other women as constrained, conforming, submissive, and believing. Whether this perception reflects an awareness of women's

oppression or simply an acceptance of the status quo cannot be determined. It should be noted, however, that several women from each group rated other women neutrally on all scales, or refused to answer the questionnaire at all because they did not want to categorize all other women in a stereotypic manner.

Hypothesis II

The CR group will respond differently from the W, M, E, and C groups, to the adjectives used to describe themselves.

Results

A chi-square test was carried out to test for differences in response patterns between the CR group and each of the other groups. Scales showing significant differences at the .05 level are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

SIGNIFICANT SCALES FOR HYPOTHESIS II

(DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CR GROUP AND OTHERS ON THE POS)

Scale	CR-W	CR-M	CR-E	CR-C
moral - immoral	X	X		
shallow - deep	X		X	
conforming - nonconforming	X	X	X	X
boring - enjoyable		X		

TABLE 6 (continued)

Scale	CR-W	CR-M	CR-E	CR-C
youthful - mature				X
kind - cruel		X		
practical - theoretical			X	X
free - constrained	X			
stable - changeable	X			X
static - dynamic	X		X	X
dominant - submissive		X		
emotional - intellectual			X	
traditional - progressive	X	X	X	X
masculine - feminine	X	X	X	X
pessimistic - optomistic				X
believing - skeptical		X	X	X
complex - simple	X		X	

From Table 5 (Appendix F) it is apparent that the CR group tended to rate themselves as more nonconforming than did all the other groups. While the CR group tended to rate themselves as progressive, all of the other groups tended to rate themselves as both progressive and traditional. Also, the CR group tended to rate themselves as neither masculine nor feminine while all of the other groups tended to

rate themselves as feminine. Compared to groups W and E, group CR tended to rate themselves as more deep and more complex. Too, they tended to rate themselves as more dynamic than groups W, E, and C rated themselves. While groups M, E, and C tended to rate themselves as believing, the CR group tended to rate themselves as skeptical. Groups W and M tended to rate themselves as more moral, and groups E and C tended to rate themselves as more practical than did group CR. While group CR tended to rate themselves as somewhat stable, the C group tended to rate themselves as very stable and the W group rated themselves more to the changeable end of the scale. The CR group tended to rate themselves as more enjoyable and more kind than did group M, and more to the dominant end of the scale, while group M tended to rate themselves more toward the submissive end of the scale. While group C tended to rate themselves as more mature and as very optomistic, the CR group tended to rate themselves as both youthful and mature and as somewhat less optomistic. The CR group, too, tended to rate themselves as both emotional and intellectual while group E tended to rate themselves more to the emotional end of the scale. Finally, while the CR group tended to rate themselves as free, group W tended to rate themselves as constrained.

Discussion

It is evident from the results presented in Table 4 and what follows, that the CR group women do perceive themselves somewhat differently from women in the traditional groups. Indeed, their perceptions of themselves as progressive, nonconforming, skeptical,

dynamic, and deep suggests that they do not see themselves as fitting the feminine stereotype. Conversely, the traditional groups do appear to see themselves within the confines of the stereotype. The CR group seemed to rate themselves across several of the scales, more so than did the traditional groups. They saw themselves as both mature and youthful, both emotional and intellectual. This may reflect what they see as their option to be themselves rather than to fit a stereotyped image.

As was expected, not all of the traditional groups responded differently from the CR group on many of the scales. Not surprisingly, groups W and M saw themselves as more moral and groups E and C as more practical than did group CR. Further, it makes sense that only group C would see themselves as more mature and optomistic than group CR, considering their age and status with regard to their careers. Too, it makes sense that only group W would see themselves as constrained, in light of the fact that most of them did not work and stayed at home with young children.

The results in Table 5 (Appendix F) also demonstrate that all groups tended to rate themselves as honest, wise, good, friendly, fair, democratic, and cooperative, all of which characteristics fit safely within the boundaries of the feminine stereotype. Of special interest are the responses of all groups to the adjectives falling outside these boundaries. All groups tended to rate themselves as socially valuable, important, self-confident, relaxed, successful, strong, and active.

Hypothesis III

The C group will respond differently from the W, M, and E groups, to the adjectives used to describe themselves.

Results

A chi-square test was carried out to test for differences in response patterns between group C and each of the other traditional groups. Scales showing significant differences at the .05 level are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES FOR HYPOTHESIS III

(DIFFERENCES BETWEEN C GROUP AND OTHER TRADITIONAL GROUPS ON THE POS)

Scale	C - W	C - M	C - E
rigid - flexible		X	
boring - enjoyable	X		
kind - cruel		X	
free - constrained	X		
stable - changeable			X
dominant - submissive		X	
emotional - intellectual			X
pessimistic - optomistic	X		

From Table 5 (Appendix F) it is apparent that group C tended to rate themselves as more flexible and kind than did group M. Further, while group C tended to rate themselves more to the dominant end of the scale, group M tended to rate themselves more to the submissive end. While group C tended to rate themselves as free and enjoyable, group W tended to rate themselves as constrained and across the scale from boring to enjoyable. Compared to group E, who tended to rate themselves as emotional and somewhat stable or neither stable nor changeable, group C tended to rate themselves as intellectual and very stable. Finally, group C tended to rate themselves more to the optomistic end of the scale than did either group W or E.

Discussion

The results from Tables 5 and 7 indicate that group C women do perceive themselves differently from the women in the other traditional groups. Considering that group C have their own careers and are economically independent, it is reasonable that they would rate themselves as more free, stable, and optomistic than would women who depend on others for status and financial security. Further, group C is the non-sexed-typed career group and thus it is reasonable that they would see themselves as having more of the so-called masculine characteristics (dominant, enjoyable, intellectual) than would women who have accepted the feminine stereotype.

Hypothesis IV

There will be a lesser discrepancy between scores on adject-

ives used to describe other women and themselves for the CR group, than for the W, M, E, and C groups.

Results

The absolute differences between scores on the POS and POW were calculated on each adjective scale for the five groups. The differences were summed over the total scales to get a discrepancy score for each group. A one-way analysis of variance was carried out to test for differences in mean discrepancy scores. Table 8 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on discrepancy scores.

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON DISCREPANCY SCORES

Source	df	Ms	F	P
Between groups	4	60.80	.24	.916
Error	122	255.45		

Means:	CR	W	M	E	C
	54.18	50.93	51.35	51.84	53.96

Discussion

The results indicate that the CR group does not have a lesser discrepancy score on adjectives used to describe other women and themselves. In fact the mean discrepancy scores are similar for all groups. In light of the results for Hypotheses I and II, which

indicated the failure of a large number of scales to differentiate between groups, the results summarized in Table 6 are not surprising.

Hypothesis V

The CR group will have a higher self-acceptance than the W, M, E, and C groups.

Results

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean self-acceptance scores of the five groups was not significant. Table 9 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on self-acceptance scores.

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SELF-ACCEPTANCE SCORES

Source	df	Ms	F	P
Between groups	4	165.75	.44	.776
Error	122	372.99		

Means:	CR	W	M	E	C
	67.57	69.03	67.65	71.80	73.25

Discussion

The results indicate that the CR group does not have a higher

self-acceptance than the W, M, E, and C groups. In fact, the mean values indicate high self-acceptance for all groups. One explanation for these results might be that whether women are questioning the traditional roles or have adopted the feminine or masculine role, they have accepted themselves in their own particular situation. Another explanation is that women with low self-acceptance may not join women's groups. In that case the sample would be biased in favor of women with high self-acceptance. A further explanation might be that the Berger Self-Acceptance Scale might not be an adequate instrument for differentiating among the study samples.

Hypothesis VI

The CR group will prefer to affiliate with other women to a greater extent than will the W, M, E, and C groups.

Results

Scale 1. Important Tasks

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 1 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 10 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 1 scores.

TABLE 10

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 1 SCORES

Source	df	Ms	F	P
Between groups	4	244.91	17.03	.000001

TABLE 10 (continued)

Source					df	Ms	F	P
Error					22	14.38		
Means:	CR	W	M	E	C			
	2.11	-3.24	-6.24	-4.52	-3.75			

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR group to be significantly different from all other groups, at a probability level of >.0001 for all groups.

Scale 2. Companionship

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 2. scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 11 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 2. scores.

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 2 SCORES

Source					df	Ms	F	P
Between groups					4	33.68	3.43	.01
Error					122	9.82		
Means:	CR	W	M	E	C			
	2.68	.97	-.41	.52	.21			

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR group to be significantly different from group M at a probability level of .04. Comparisons of CR with the remaining groups were not significant.

Scale 3. Working Relationships

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 3 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 12 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 3 scores.

TABLE 12

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 3 SCORES

Source					df	MS	F	P
Between groups					4	309.51	15.88	>.000001
Error					122	19.49		
Means:	CR	W	M	E	C			
	13.79	7.45	7.00	4.64	7.68			

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR groups to be significantly different from groups W and E at a probability level of >.0001 and from groups M and C at .0001.

Scale 4. Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Groups

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 4 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 13 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 4 scores.

TABLE 13

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 4 SCORES

Source	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	4	69.64	4.92	.001
Error	122	14.17		

Means:	CR	W	M	E	C
	4.68	1.41	.47	.96	.82

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR groups to be significantly different from group W at a probability level of .03, from groups M and E at the .01 levels.

Scale 5. Personal Friendships

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 5 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 14 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 5 scores.

TABLE 14

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 5 SCORES

Source	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	4	82.65	10.88	.000002
Error	122	7.60		

Means:	CR	W	M	E	C
	5.32	1.45	1.24	2.24	1.18

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR groups to be significantly different from groups W and C at a probability level of $<.0001$, from group M at .0003, and from group E at a level of .0036.

Scale 6. Dependency Relationships

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 6 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 15 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 6 scores.

TABLE 15

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 6 SCORES

Source	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	4	197.04	31.02	.000001

TABLE 15 (continued)

Source				df	MS	F	P
Error				122	6.35		
Means:	CR	W	M	E	C		
	6.57	1.58	.06	.28	.54		

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR group to be significantly different from all groups at a probability level of $<.0001$.

Scale 7. Acceptance of Sex-Role Label

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 7 scores of the AQ for the five groups was not significant. Table 16 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 7 scores.

TABLE 16

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 7 SCORES

Source				df	MS	F	P
Between groups				4	15.20	1.54	.1949
Error				122	9.87		
Means:	CR	W	M	E	C		
	3.82	5.21	5.59	5.20	5.57		

Scale 8. Loyalty

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 8 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 17 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 8 scores.

TABLE 17

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 8 SCORES

Source					df	MS	F	P
Between groups					4	115.85	18.67	.000001
Error					122	6.20		
Means:	CR	W	M	E	C			
	5.07	-.21	1.35	.76	.93			

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR group to be significantly different from groups W, E, and C at a probability level of $<.0001$, and from group M at the .0002 level.

Scale 9. Pride in Same-Sex Group

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 9 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 18 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 9 scores.

TABLE 18

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 9 SCORES

Source	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	4	69.94	6.67	.00007
Error	122	10.49		

Means:	CR	W	M	E	C
	7.86	3.62	4.88	4.76	5.79

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR group to be significantly different from group W at a probability level of .0002 and from group E at a level of .0205.

Scale 10. Dissociation from the Stereotype.

The one-way analysis of variance carried out on the mean Scale 10 scores of the AQ for the five groups was significant. Table 19 provides a summary of the analysis of variance on Scale 10 scores.

TABLE 19

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SCALE 10 SCORES

Source	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	4	25.26	3.94	.00481

TABLE 19 (continued)

Source				df	MS	F	P
Error				122	6.41		
Means:	CR	W	M	E	C		
	-1.14	.69	-.18	1.40	-.29		

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed the CR group to be significantly different from group E at a probability level of .0126.

Summary

A summary of the significant differences between the CR group and all other groups on the 10 scales of the AQ is provided in Table 20.

TABLE 20

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES FOR HYPOTHESIS VI

(DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CR GROUP AND OTHERS ON THE AQ)

Scale	CR-W	CR-M	CR-E	CR-C
1. Important Tasks	X	X	X	X
2. Companionship		X		
3. Working Relationships	X	X	X	X
4. Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Groups	X	X	X	
5. Personal Friendships	X	X	X	X
6. Dependency Relationships	X	X	X	X

TABLE 20 (continued)

Scale	CR-W	CR-M	CR-E	CR-C
7. Acceptance of Sex-Role Label				
8. Loyalty	X	X	X	X
9. Pride in Same-Sex Groups	X		X	
10. Dissociation from the Stereotype			X	

Discussion

The significant results on Scales 1, 3, 5, and 6 indicate that the CR group prefer to affiliate with other women when it comes to important tasks, working relationships, personal friendships, and dependency relationships more so than do all of the traditional groups. In addition, the results on Scale 2 indicate that the women in the CR group prefer women as companions more than do women in group M.

The significant results on Scales 8, 4, and 9 indicate that the CR group is more loyal to women than are all the other groups, have more positive attitudes toward same-sex groups than do groups W, M and E, and have more pride in same-sex groups than do groups W and E.

The results from Scale 10 indicate that the CR group has dissociated itself from the stereotyped image of women more so than has group E. Although there are no significant results for Scale 7,

it is interesting to note that the means shown in Table 16 indicate a positive acceptance of the sex-role label for all groups.

Hypothesis VII

There will be some variation among the W, M, E, and C groups as to their affiliation preferences.

Results

Application of the Scheffe method for multiple comparison of means showed no significant differences between the W, M, E, and C groups for all 10 scales of the AQ.

Discussion

The results indicate that the W, M, E, and C groups are alike in their affiliation preferences. It is apparent from the mean scale scores in Tables 1 to 6 inclusive, 8 and 9, that the traditional groups similarly prefer to affiliate with women to a lesser extent than does the CR group. Also they similarly accept the sex-role label and dissociate themselves from the stereotype.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceptions of and attitudes toward themselves and other women, of women involved in consciousness-raising groups, as compared with those of women involved in four traditional groups. Specifically the research questions asked about the differences between women in consciousness-raising groups and traditional groups with regard to:

1. perceptions of other women,
2. perceptions of self,
3. self-acceptance,
4. affiliation preferences.

Investigations were also carried out to explore differences between the four traditional groups with regard to the same questions.

From the literature review in Chapter II it was learned that women tend to have unfavorable perceptions of and negative attitudes toward other women. Too, there is evidence that their attempts in resolving the sex-role conflict often result in much anxiety, low acceptance of self and perception of themselves as either inferior to men or as different from other women. It follows that women would then, generally prefer to affiliate with men rather than with women.

Consciousness-raising groups are attempting to increase women's awareness of their oppression and to change their attitudes and behaviors toward themselves and other women. It was the expectation of this study

therefore, that women in consciousness-raising groups would generally perceive other women and themselves more favorably, have more positive attitudes toward themselves and other women, and prefer to affiliate with women more so than would the traditional women.

Conclusions

Perception of other women.

Although the CR group did rate other women differently from the traditional groups on four scales of the POW, by in large they responded to the scales in a similar manner (Hypothesis I). One explanation for this similarity in response is that the method itself is not adequate for tapping the perceptual differences of CR women and traditional women. Probably an instrument that tested actual behavior and thus avoided the problem of respondents who 'know the right thing to say', would be more adequate. This seems likely in view of the results on Scales 4, 8, and 9 of the AQ which demonstrated more positive attitudes toward women and women's groups by the CR group. Another explanation might be that change in perception had occurred at the symbolic level but had not yet occurred on the behavioral level in the traditional groups. Thus, it may be that the traditional groups really do believe women to have greater scope than is defined by the feminine stereotype, but that this awareness is not yet manifested in their behavior.

Perception of self.

From the results of Hypothesis II it seems fair to conclude that the consciousness-raising group represents a group of women whose

perceptions of self exceed the boundaries of the feminine stereotype. It is further concluded that these women generally perceive themselves differently from the women in the traditional groups. However, it cannot be determined in this study whether change in awareness and perception occurred during the group sessions or prior to joining, or whether the women in the CR group were initially different people.

With regard to the results for Hypothesis II, it seems fair to conclude that group C tends to perceive themselves as having more scope than is defined by the feminine stereotype. In this sense they seem to perceive themselves in a similar manner to the CR group. In some instances however, they seem to have adopted a so-called masculine characteristic while the other traditional groups have adopted the feminine and the CR group have adopted both. For example, the C group see themselves as intellectual, the E group see themselves as emotional, and the CR group see themselves in terms of both. There is a tendancy for the W and M groups also to see themselves as emotional (see Table 5, Appendix F). A continuum of results such as this, whereby the C group tends toward one end, the E, W, and M groups tend toward the other end, and the CR group tends to the middle, is congruent with the expectations of this study based on the literature review in Chapter II.

Affiliation preferences.

The results obtained on the AQ for Hypothesis VI are in support of the research discussed in Chapter II. In general, the CR group tends to prefer to affiliate with and has positive attitudes toward other women more so than do the traditional groups. Also in support

of this finding are the results on items 21 and 22 of the PIQ (Table 2) which shows that the CR group finds all-female clubs to be more interesting and more worthwhile than do the traditional groups. Based on the research which demonstrated that women react positively to the nuturing and supportive qualities of the feminine stereotype, it was expected that the traditional groups would respond similarly to the CR group in prefering women as personal friends. However, group CR was still more positive about prefering women on the personal friendship scale.

From the results on the AQ it seems fair to conclude that the women in the CR group have learned to accept, trust, and relate to other women - they have experienced 'sisterhood'. This study does not provide evidence that the difference in behavior between the CR group and the other groups was learned in the non-threatening environment of the consciousness-raising group's sessions. That probability must be entertained however, in light of the research regarding women's attitude and behavior toward other women, and that regarding behavior change in a non-threatening and supportive environment.

Although the results for Hypothesis VII show no significant differences between the traditional groups for all scales on the AQ, it is apparent from Table 20 that there are tendancies to differ among the traditional groups. It would seem that groups W, E, and C tend to prefer other women as companions less than does group M. In view of the fact that most of group M are single and young, and probably still oriented toward 'catching a man', this difference is not surprising.

Another tendancy to differ is seen among the traditional groups in their relation to same-sex groups. From Table 20 it is apparent that group C differs somewhat from the other groups in their attitudes toward same-sex groups, and that groups M and C differ from W and E with respect to pride in same-sex groups. Finally, it is apparent that groups W, M, and C differ from group E in their dissociation from the stereotype. The mean Scale 10 scores in Table 19 indicate a tendancy for the women in group E to dissociate themselves from the stereotype to a lesser extent than do the women in groups W, M, and C. This is interesting in light of the information provided by Table 20. Group E responded most differently from the CR group, as indicated by the number of scales on which they were found to be significantly different from the CR group. That group E is most closely identified with the stereotype and is the most negative in their affiliations with women, is consistent with the expectation of this study.

Implications

The conclusions of this study that the CR women behave more positively toward other women than do traditional women have far-reaching implications. If the women's movement reaches more women and continues to be influential in making changes in women's behavior, the effect will be felt by the family and by other institutions which presently offer the woman a subservient role. Considering the results from the PIQ (Table 2), which showed that the CR group is primarily politically radical as compared to the traditional groups

who vary from liberal to moderate, conservative and apathetic, there will be implications for the legal institutions as well.

The limitations of this study center around the sample, the instruments, and the experimental design. From Table 2 it is apparent that group W is a somewhat younger group and group C is an older group than the other groups. Some of the differences in response might then be due to the difference in age. Group W was not cooperative in returning the questionnaires. Therefore, it may be that a greater number of the subjects in group W were self-selected. Several more extreme groups, in terms of their adopting the masculine role, were initially approached before group C was finally constructed. The professional groups initially contacted were uncooperative and even negative about taking part in the study. It is possible that group C was less extreme than it might have been, and therefore, that more extreme responses might have been obtained had the groups initially contacted been more cooperative. All of the groups were constructed from subjects who were already meeting in some kind of group. As was previously suggested, different results might be obtained on acceptance of self if women who were not involved in the social process of a group meeting were used as subjects. Future research might take these sample limitations into account.

It is the conclusion of this study that an instrument (such as the AQ) which involves behavioral decisions on the part of the subjects, is a better test for differentiating between groups on attitudes toward other women. Tests (such as the POW) which require only a symbolic categorization would not be expected to detect the actual behavioral

differences that can be observed. Therefore, it is recommended that future research on women's attitudes and behavior make use of instruments which are more likely to detect behavioral differences or change, than do the usual paper tests.

The POW and POS were originally factor-analysed to determine the possibility of three factors previously found in research on stereotypes using the semantic differential technique. It is possible that the POS might be factor-analysed using only the scales showing significant differences, and perhaps become a more refined and powerful tool.

The design of this experiment is that of a static group comparison. It is a weak design in that there is no way of determining that the groups would not have been equivalent, had it not been for the treatment (the consciousness-raising group). In other words, the members of the CR group may have been different from the other groups in the first place. This problem does not directly concern this study however. Rather than testing to see how effective the consciousness-raising group was in making behavioral changes, it was the purpose of this study to investigate whether women who are involved in consciousness-raising groups associated with the Women's Movement, tend to be more positive in their attitudes and affiliations with women, more so than do women from traditional groups. And this was found to be so. Future research on women might be directed toward a control group design or pretest - posttest design which would provide more control and thus information as to how and when changes in attitude and behavior are taking place.

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APPENDIX A

PERSONAL INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

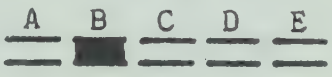
The following questionnaires have no right or wrong answers. It is your personal opinion we are interested in. All of your answers will be anonymous and completely confidential. It is very important, however, for you to put your number at the top of each answer sheet where you would ordinarily write your middle name.

Example: . . . 6 1 4 . . . . .
Middle

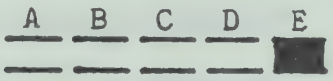
Please answer the questionnaires in the correct order as numbered from 1 to 5.

Do not write on the question pages as they must be used again.

Mark all of your answers on the answer sheet accompanying each questionnaire. Indicate your answer by placing a mark between the guidelines which correspond to your answer. If your answer is "B" mark between the guidelines under "B" as follows:



If your answer is "E" mark between the guidelines under "E" as follows:



Mark inside the guidelines only.

Use only the pencil provided for you.

Be sure to answer each question, but never make more than one mark for each question.

Please DO NOT DISCUSS YOUR ANSWERS with anyone until after I have collected the questionnaires and answer sheets from you. If you have any problems with the questionnaire please call me at the University at 432-5387 or at my home at 488-4990.

Thank-you for your cooperation.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Please answer the following questions by marking the appropriate answer on the answer sheet as instructed. Do not write in this booklet.

Your answers will be anonymous and completely confidential.

Remember to write your number on the top right-hand corner of your answer sheet.

---

1. What is your age?

   A. 24 and under

   B. 25 - 29

   C. 30 - 34

   D. 35 - 39

   E. 40 and over.

2. What is your marital status?

   A. Single

   B. Married

   C. Separated, divorced

   D. Widowed

   E. Remarried

3. What level education did your father complete?

   A. Grade School

   B. Partial high school

   C. High school or partial college

   D. College or university

   E. Graduate professional training

4. What level education did your mother complete?

   A. Grade school

   B. Partial high school

   C. High school or partial college

   D. College or university

   E. Graduate or professional training

5. What level education have you completed?

   A. Grade school

   B. Partial high school

   C. High school or partial college

   D. College or university

   E. Graduate or professional training

6. In your family were you the

   A. only child

   B. eldest child

   C. middle child

   D. youngest child?

7. How many children other than you were in your family?

   A. 1 B. 2 C. 3 D. 4 E. 5 or more

8. Who was your best friend in your family?

   A. Mother

   B. Father

   C. Sister

   D. Brother

   E. Other

9. Who was your worst enemy in your family?

A. Mother

B. Father

C. Sister

D. Brother

E. Other

10. Who was your greatest competitor in your family?

A. Mother

B. Father

C. Sister

D. Brother

E. Other

11. Did your mother work when you were a child?

A. Worked full-time throughout my childhood

B. Worked part-time throughout my childhood

C. Worked on and off, (part-time or full-time)

D. Worked only after her children were older (part-time or full-time)

E. Did not work at all

12. Do you work at the present?

A. Part-time

B. Full-time

13. If you do work is it because

A. You want to

B. You have to

C. Both A and B

14. If you work, did you begin to work

A. Before marriage

B. After marriage but before children

C. While children were below school age

D. After children were in school

E. After children left home

15. If you don't work is it because

A. You prefer to stay at home

B. You don't have to work

C. Your family wouldn't approve

D. Both A and B

E. Either A and C or B and C

16. How many children have you?

A. 1

B. 2

C. 3

D. 4

E. 5 or more

17. What was your age at the birth of your first child?

A. under 20 years

B. 20 - 22

C. 23 - 25

D. 26 - 28

E. 29 or older

18. How would you describe your political views?

A. Radical

B. Somewhat liberal

C. Moderate

D. Somewhat conservative

E. Apathetic

Now we'd like some information about the clubs or organizations to which you belong. We consider a club any voluntary group of more than two people which meets with some regularity and has some means of distinguishing members from non-members. By our definition, even a group of people who meet for coffee in a student residence could be considered a club, if more or less the same people were included in the group all the time, and if they met regularly. We're really interested in any group of people that is a regular part of your life, and that you meet with voluntarily (not, for example, a group that you attend to meet a course requirement, or because it's part of your job).

19. How many clubs or groups do you attend?

A. None

B. One

C. Two

D. Three

E. Four or more

20. How many of these are all-female clubs?

A. None

B. One

C. Two

D. Three

E. Four or more

21. If you belong to one or more all-female clubs, think of the all-female groups which you attend most frequently. Would you consider it,

A. Very interesting

B. Interesting

C. Neutral

D. Boring

E. Very boring

22. Again, think of the all-female group which you attend most frequently, would you consider it

A. Very worthless

B. Worthless

C. Neutral

D. Worthwhile

E. Very worthwhile

APPENDIX B

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE

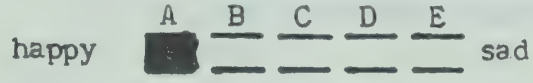
for

"I am..." and "Other women are..."

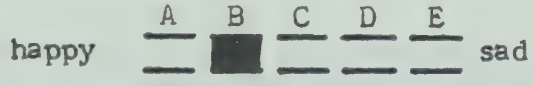
INSTRUCTIONS

On the accompanying answer sheet entitled "I am...", are 2 lists of adjectives, one list being the opposite of the other. Your task is to judge how accurately the adjectives describe yourself, and to indicate your judgement on the answer sheet as follows:

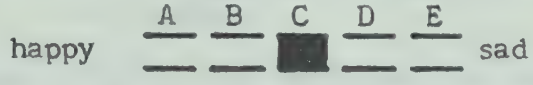
A. If you feel that the first adjective in the pair very much describes you, place a mark between the appropriate guidelines as follows:



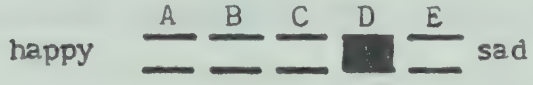
B. If you feel the first adjective somewhat describes you, place a mark as follows:



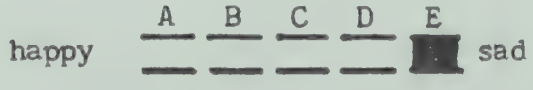
C. If you feel that neither the first adjective nor the second (its opposite) describes you, place a mark as follows:



D. If you feel that the second (opposite) adjective in the pair somewhat describes you, place a mark as follows:



E. If you feel that the second (opposite) adjective very much describes you, place a mark as follows:



Please make sure that your mark doesn't go outside the guidelines.

Be sure to make a judgement on all the pairs of adjectives.

Never put more than one mark on a pair.

INSTRUCTIONS

On the accompanying answer sheet entitled "Other women are..." are 2 lists of opposite adjectives identical to the ones you have already worked with. This time your task is to judge how the adjectives apply to OTHER WOMEN.

Indicate your answer on the answer sheet in the same manner as before.

Mark at "A" if you feel that the first adjective in the pair VERY MUCH describes other women.

Mark at "B" if you feel that the first adjective in the pair SOMEWHAT describes other women.

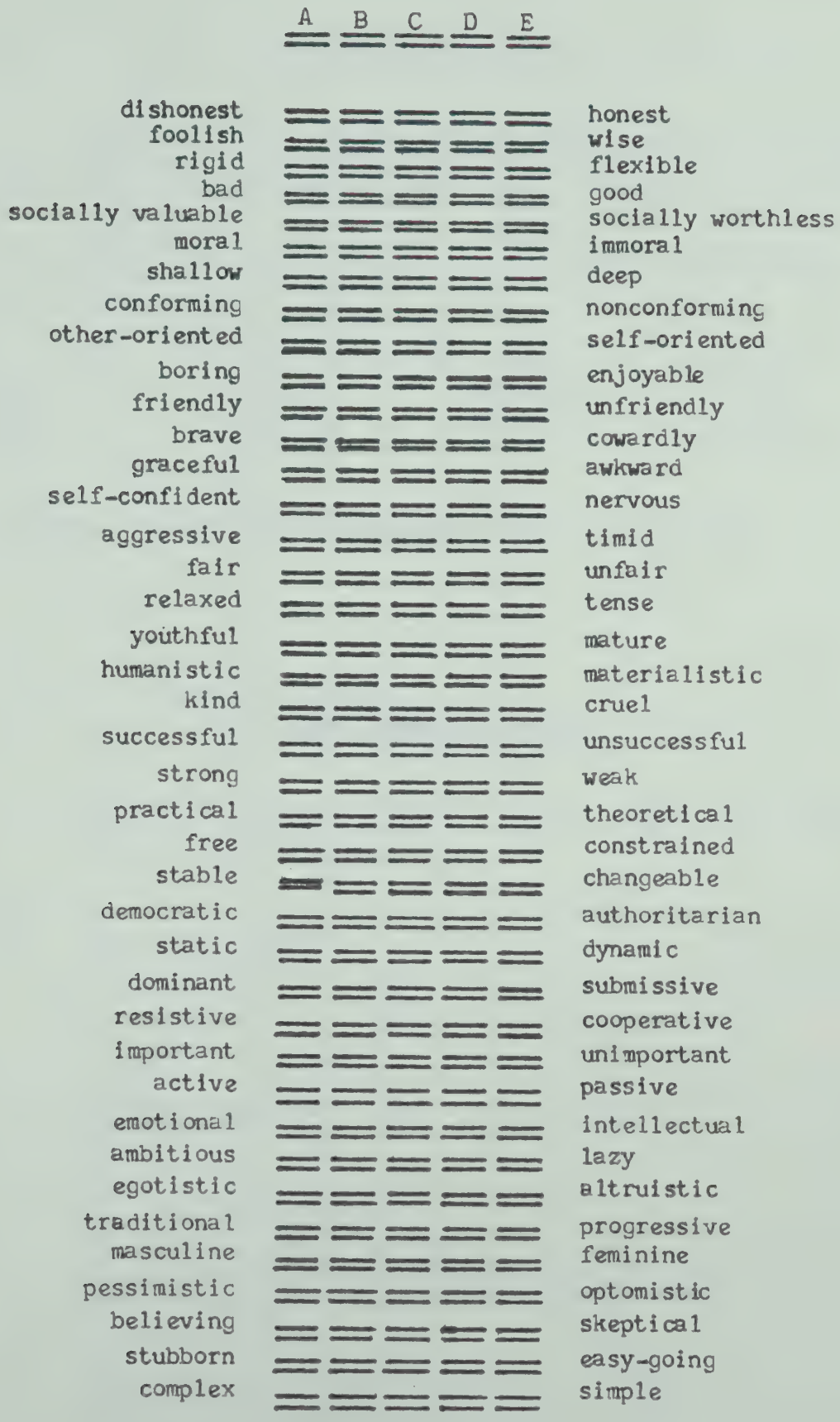
Mark at "C" if you feel that NEITHER adjective in the pair describes other women.

Mark at "D" if you feel that the second adjective in the pair SOMEWHAT describes other women.

Mark at "E" if you feel that the second adjective in the pair VERY MUCH describes other women.

DO NOT LOOK BACK to compare how you described yourself.

When you have finished all of the questionnaires, please check to see that you have written your number at the top of all of the answer sheets.


A B C D E
dishonest
foolish
rigid
bad
socially valuable
moral
shallow
conforming
other-oriented
boring
friendly
brave
graceful
self-confident
aggressive
fair
relaxed
youthful
humanistic
kind
successful
strong
practical
free
stable
democratic
static
dominant
resistive
important
active
emotional
ambitious
egotistic
traditional
masculine
pessimistic
believing
stubborn
complex
honest
wise
flexible
good
socially worthless
immoral
deep
nonconforming
self-oriented
enjoyable
unfriendly
cowardly
awkward
nervous
timid
unfair
tense
mature
materialistic
cruel
unsuccessful
weak
theoretical
constrained
changeable
authoritarian
dynamic
submissive
cooperative
unimportant
passive
intellectual
lazy
altruistic
progressive
feminine
optomistic
skeptical
easy-going
simple

APPENDIX C

SELF-ACCEPTANCE SCALE

ATTITUDE STUDY

This is a study of some of your attitudes. Of course, there is no right answer for any statement. The best answer is what you feel is true of yourself.

You are to respond to each question on the answer sheet according to the following scheme:

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.
Not at all true of myself	Slightly true of myself	About half-way true of myself	Mostly true of myself	True of myself

REMEMBER, THE BEST ANSWER IS THE ONE WHICH APPLIES TO YOU.

- -

1. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.

2. I don't question my worth as a person, even if I think others do.

3. When people say nice things about me, I find it difficult to believe they really mean it. I think maybe they're kidding me or just aren't being sincere.

4. If there is any criticism or anyone says anything about me, I just can't take it.

5. I don't say much at social affairs because I'm afraid that people will criticize me or laugh if I say the wrong thing.

6. I realize that I'm not living very effectively but I just don't believe I've got it in me to use my energies in better ways.

7. I look on most of the feelings and impulses I have toward people as being quite natural and acceptable.

8. Something inside me just won't let me be satisfied with any job I've done--if it turns out well, I get a very smug feeling that this is beneath me, I shouldn't be satisfied with this, this isn't a fair test.

9. I feel different from other people. I'd like to have the feeling of security that comes from knowing I'm not too different from others.

10. I'm afraid for people that I like to find out what I'm really like, for fear they'd be disappointed in me.

11. I am frequently bothered by feelings of inferiority.

12. Because of other people, I haven't been able to achieve as much as I should have.

13. I am quite shy and self-conscious in social situations.

14. In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else.

15. I seem to have a real inner strength in handling things. I'm on a pretty solid foundation and it makes me pretty sure of myself.

16. I feel self-conscious when I'm with people who have a superior position to mine in business or at school.

17. I think I'm neurotic or something.

18. Very often I don't try to be friendly with people because I think they won't like me.

19. I feel that I'm a person of worth, on an equal plane with others.

20. I can't avoid feeling guilty about the way I feel toward certain people in my life.

21. I'm not afraid of meeting new people. I feel that I'm a worthwhile person and there's no reason why they should dislike me.

22. I sort of only half-believe in myself.

23. I'm very sensitive. People say things and I have a tendency to think they're criticizing me or insulting me in some way and later when I think of it, they may not have meant anything like that at all.

24. I think I have certain abilities and other people say so too, but I wonder if I'm not giving them an importance way beyond what they deserve.

25. I feel confident that I can do something about the problems that may arise in the future.

26. I guess I put on a show to impress people. I know I'm not the person I pretend to be.

27. I do not worry or condemn myself if other people pass judgment against me.

28. I don't feel very normal, but I want to feel normal.

29. When I'm in a group I usually don't say much for fear of saying the wrong thing.

30. I have a tendency to sidestep my problems.

31. Even when people do think well of me, I feel sort of guilty because I know I must be fooling them--that if I were really to be myself, they wouldn't think well of me.

32. I feel that I'm on the same level as other people and that helps to establish good relations with them.

33. I feel that people are apt to react differently to me than they would normally react to other people.

34. I live too much by other peoples' standards.

35. When I have to address a group, I get self-conscious and have difficulty saying things well.

36. If I didn't always have such hard luck, I'd accomplish much more than I have.

APPENDIX D

AFFILIATION QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS

A lot of studies have been done on the dating, marriage, and mating games. Much less is known about which sex people prefer to associate with when they're not looking for a prospective dating or mating partner. Of course, it's impossible to eliminate the factor of attraction between the sexes, but we would like to try to focus on the other factors that make people prefer men or women as friends, co-workers, etc. To help us find out, we want you to fill out the following questionnaire. It is important for you to be candid and thoughtful in your replies.

This is not a study of your personality and it has nothing to do with sexual preferences, heterosexuality or homosexuality. Rather, it is an attempt to find out under which circumstances people, in general, prefer to be with women or men, or whether they're neutral about this.

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE ON THIS BOOKLET.

USE YOUR ANSWER SHEET AS INSTRUCTED.

BE SURE TO PUT YOUR NUMBER IN THE TOP RIGHT-HAND CORNER OF THE ANSWER SHEET.

1. How would you describe your social relationships with persons of your own sex (excluding relatives)?

   A. Very comfortable
   B. Moderately comfortable
   C. Neutral
   D. Moderately uncomfortable
   E. Very uncomfortable

2. Think of your five best friends. Are they...

   A. All women
   B. Mostly women
   C. Both men and women
   D. Mostly men
   E. All men

3. Think of an older person (excluding parents) that you would go to if you needed advice or wanted to talk to someone about a problem. Is the person you think of...

   A. A man
   B. A woman

Questions 4 - 15 and 16 - 27:

Now we would like to know what you do when you are with your friends. Below are some things which people sometimes do. Tell us what you do when you are with friends who are women for questions 4 - 15, and then tell us about your friends who are men for questions 16 - 27. Work fairly rapidly.

4. Go for coffee with women

   A. Never
   B. Sometimes
   C. Often

5. Go to movies with women

   A. Never
   B. Sometimes
   C. Often

6. Talk about our families with women

   A. Never
   B. Sometimes
   C. Often

7. Spend time goofing around with women

   A. Never
   B. Sometimes
   C. Often

8. Go car riding with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

9. Work with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

10. Talk about personal problems with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

11. Study with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

12. Talk about politics or serious things with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

13. Going to club, church, and other group meetings with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

14. Going on hikes, bike rides with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

15. Play bridge or other games with women

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

16. Go for coffee with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

17. Go to movies with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

18. Talk about our families with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

19. Spend time goofing around with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

20. Go car riding with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

21. Work with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

22. Talk about personal problems with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

23. Study with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

24. Talk about politics or serious things with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

25. Going to club, church, and other group meetings with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

26. Going on hikes, bike rides with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

27. Play bridge or other games with men

A. Never
B. Sometimes
C. Often

28. How do you find women as co-workers on a job, a group project, etc.?

A. Very productive and easy to work with
B. Moderately good to work with
C. Rather poor co-workers
D. Very unproductive and poor to work with
E. Avoid working with other women

29. Think of situations in which you have had a person of your own sex in authority over you (for example, as a supervisor, a teacher, leader in a club). How have you found people of your own sex in these situations?

A. Very pleasant to work for
B. Moderately pleasant to work for
C. Moderately unpleasant to work for
D. Very unpleasant to work for
E. Avoid working with people of my own sex

30. Comparing women and men when they are in authority, how do you find them?

A. Much prefer to work for a man
B. Usually prefer to work for a man
C. Find them about the same to work for
D. Usually prefer to work for a woman
E. Much prefer to work for a woman

31. When you are in charge of a task, (as a supervisor, a teacher, a club leader, etc.) how do you find women to work with?

A. Very poor to work with
B. Somewhat worse than men
C. Women and men about the same to work with
D. Somewhat better than men
E. Very good to work with

32. As far as I'm concerned it's natural for women to trust men more than other women.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

33. There are times when it's good to be with other women--they understand.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

34. I dislike working with women.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

35. I feel an obligation to stick up for members of my own sex.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

36. I dislike hearing negative remarks about women.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

37. I am proud to be a woman.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

38. I can talk more easily with women than with men.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

39. I consider myself quite different from most women

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

40. I feel loyal to other women.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

41. I dislike the word "femininity".

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

42. In arguments with people in authority, I'd rather have a man on my side.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

43. I would enjoy working under the supervision of a well-qualified woman.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

44. Women are better friends.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

Questions 45 - 59:

Following are hypothetical stories that involve possible reactions to a person or situation. There is no right or wrong answer; please pick only one answer.

45. You have joined a sensitivity group where you know that personal feelings will be exchanged. You are assigned to a group consisting entirely of members of your own sex. How do you feel?

A. Very uncomfortable; sorry the group isn't a mixed one.
B. Uncomfortable; sorry the group isn't a mixed one.
C. Same as if I'd been in a mixed group.
D. Comfortable, glad the group isn't a mixed one.
E. Very comfortable; glad the group isn't a mixed one.

46. You decide to go for professional help about a personal problem. When you go to make your appointment, you notice that there are both men and women counselors. When the receptionist asks you if you'd like to see any particular counselor, you reply:

A. I'd strongly prefer to see a woman.
B. I'd prefer to see a woman.
C. It doesn't make any difference to me.
D. I'd prefer to see a man.
E. I'd strongly prefer to see a man.

47. Mrs. S. is a housewife who has just moved into a new neighborhood. She is told that the neighborhood women often meet for coffee and is invited to join them. If you were Mrs. S., what would you be most likely to do?

A. Decline the invitation.
B. Go once or twice to be polite, then find some excuse to stop going.
C. Meet the women and then decide whether you want to keep going.
D. Join them once in awhile, whenever you have enough time.
E. Join them regularly.

48. Imagine that you are taking a social science course where the class is divided into seminar groups for discussion. You are assigned to a group consisting of women only. How do you anticipate that the group will turn out to be?

A. Much less interesting than a mixed group.
B. Less interesting than a mixed group.
C. About as interesting as a mixed group.
D. More interesting than a mixed group.
E. Much more interesting than a mixed group.

49. Imagine that you are driving down a lonely road late at night and come upon a serious accident. The people are severely injured and, as it is unlikely that anyone else will come along, you must act at once. Who would you wish to have as your companion in this emergency?

A. Strongly prefer a woman
B. Somewhat prefer a woman
C. Either a woman or a man
D. Somewhat prefer a man
E. Strongly prefer a man

Questions 50 - 58:

Now imagine that you have the interest, opportunity, and ability to belong to the following groups. Imagine, too, that you are not looking for prospective dating or mating partners. Assuming that you could choose between people equal in all other respects, would you prefer a group made up of all women, mostly women, women and men equally, mostly men, all men? Note choices carefully!

50. For a group of friends talking about personal experiences and feelings, I would prefer a group made up of

A. All women
B. Mostly women
C. Women and men equally
D. Mostly men
E. All men

51. For co-workers in a job, I would prefer

A. All women
B. Mostly women
C. Women and men equally
D. Mostly men
E. All men

52. For a group that is "brain-storming" or dreaming up ideas I would prefer

A. All women
B. Mostly women
C. Women and men equally
D. Mostly men
E. All men

53. For a group to accomplish a practical task before a deadline I would prefer

A. All women
B. Mostly women
C. Women and men equally
D. Mostly men
E. All men

54. For a serious political discussion I would prefer

A. All women
B. Mostly women
C. Women and men equally
D. Mostly men
E. All men

55. For a group of friends in a heavy political discussion I would prefer

A. All women
B. Mostly women
C. Women and men equally
D. Mostly men
E. All men

56. For a group of friends making light conversation about the "trivialities" of daily life I would prefer

A. All men
B. Mostly men
C. Men and women equally
D. Mostly women
E. All women

57. For a competitive sports group where the people are all equally capable I would prefer

A. All men
B. Mostly men
C. Men and women equally
D. Mostly women
E. All women

58. For a seminar on the art of child rearing I would prefer

A. All men
B. Mostly men
C. Men and women equally
D. Mostly women
E. All women

59. Most all-female groups can best be described as:

A. Very boring
B. Boring
C. Neutral
D. Interesting
E. Very interesting

60. Most all-female groups can best be described as:

A. Very worthwhile
B. Worthwhile
C. Neutral
D. Worthless
E. Very worthless

61. When a group of women get together, the things they talk about are usually

A. Very important
B. Important
C. Neutral
D. Trivial
E. Very trivial

62. Groups of women often gossip about members that are absent:

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Don't know
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

63. Cooperativeness in all-female groups is:

A. Very low
B. Low
C. Neutral
D. High
E. Very high

64. Before the wedding of a casual friend, if you were invited to a bridal shower for the bride, how might you usually react?

A. Would definitely avoid going
B. Would avoid going
C. Indifferent
D. Happy to go
E. Very happy to go

65. If you belonged to an all-female group and someone said it was a "typical women's group," how would you feel?

A. Very complimented
B. Complimented
C. Neutral
D. Insulted
E. Very insulted

66. Can you imagine yourself being interested in joining a typical women's group?

A. Yes
B. Maybe
C. Not really
D. No

67. If someone told you that you were "just like most women" how would you feel?

A. Very pleased
B. Quite pleased
C. Rather indifferent
D. Quite displeased
E. Very displeased

68. When you hear someone make a particularly complimentary remark about women, what might usually be your first reaction?

A. Feel that such remarks also reflect on me as a woman
B. Feel no different than as if I hear a similar remark about men
C. Feel that it has nothing to do with me

69. When you hear someone make a particularly uncomplimentary remark about women, what might usually be your first reaction?

A. Feel that it has nothing to do with me.
B. Feel no different than I would hearing a similar remark about men.
C. Feel that such remarks also reflect on me as a woman.

70. If you were taking a course and you had a choice of instructors would you, in general

A. Strongly prefer a man
B. Prefer a man
C. Makes no difference
D. Prefer a woman
E. Strongly prefer a woman

71. If someone told you that you were a "typical woman," how might you usually feel?

A. That it is untrue
B. That it is rather untrue
C. Indifferent about it
D. That it is partially true
E. That it is true

72. If you did something, and the person with you said "that's just like a woman," what might be your most usual reaation?

A. Very happy
B. Quite happy
C. Rather indifferent
D. Quite unhappy
E. Very unhappy

73. In general, I seldom have social relationships with women, if I can help it.

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Neutral
D. Disagree
E. Strongly disagree

74. If someone referred to you as being a "real woman," how would you usually feel?

A. Very proud
B. Proud
C. Indifferent
D. Ashamed
E. Very ashamed

75. Imagine someone complimenting you on your femininity. How might that usually make you feel?

A. Very displeased
B. Quite displeased
C. Rather neutral
D. Quite pleased
E. Very pleased

76. Imagine that you are forming a small discussion group where everyone can be personally selected by you. Would you be likely to choose

A. All men
B. Mostly men
C. Men and women equally
D. Mostly women
E. All women

77. Thinking about it now, what is your most usual feeling about being a member of the female sex?

A. Very proud
B. Proud
C. Indifferent
D. Ashamed
E. Very ashamed

78. Thinking about it now, what is your most usual feeling about the female sex as a whole?

A. Very bad
B. Bad
C. Indifferent
D. Good
E. Very good

APPENDIX E

SCORING FOR AFFILIATION QUESTIONNAIRE:

TOTAL TEST AND SCALES

SCORING FOR AFFILIATION QUESTIONNAIRE:

TOTAL TEST

1. For items 1, 2, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 60, 61, 65, 67, 72, 74, 77 score as follows:

   A. +2, B. +1, C. 0, D. -1, E. -2.

2. For items 4 - 15 inclusive score as follows:

   A. 0, B. +1, C. +2.

3. For items 16 - 27 inclusive score as follows:

   A. 0, B. -1, C. -2.

4. For item 3 score as follows:

   A. 0, B. +1.

5. For items 28 and 29 score as follows:

   A. +2, B. +1, C. -1, D. -2, E. -3.

6. For items 30, 31, 32, 34, 39, 41, 42, 45, 47, 48, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 78 score as follows:

   A. -2, B. -1, C. 0, D. +1, E. +2.

7. For item 66 score as follows:

   A. +2, B. +1, C. -1, D. -2.

8. For item 68 score as follows:

   A. +1, B. 0, C. -1.

9. For item 69 score as follows:

   A. -1, B. 0, C. +1.

SCORING FOR AFFILIATION QUESTIONNAIRE SCALES

Scale 1. Important Tasks

items: 3, 6*, 8, 12, 18*, 20, 24, 30, 42, 47*, 49, 51, 54, 55, 56*, 58*, 62, 65, 70.

Scale 2. Companionship

items: 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 26, 27, 44, 57*.

Scale 3. Working Relationships

items: 14, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 43, 63, 72*, 73, 78.

Scale 4. Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Group

items: 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 78.

Scale 5. Personal Friendships

items: 6, 18, 33, 38, 40, 44, 50.

Scale 6. Dependency Relationships Scale

items: 3, 10, 22, 30, 32, 43, 46, 52.

Scale 7. Acceptance of Sex-Role Label

items: 1, 9, 10, 21, 22, 41, 45, 51, 70*, 74, 75.

Scale 8. Loyalty

items: 35, 36, 48, 68, 69.

Scale 9. Pride in Same-Sex Group

items: 35, 36, 37, 74, 76, 77, 78.

Scale 10. Dissociation from the Stereotype

items: 39, 64, 67, 71, 72.

APPENDIX F

TABLE 5

TABLE 5

PERCENT RESPONDING ON EACH SCALE

FOR THE POW AND THE POS

	POW					POS					
	dishonest				honest		dishonest				honest
CR	0	14	36	39	11	CR	0	0	0	57	43
W	0	3	17	66	14	W	0	3	3	21	72
M	0	12	12	65	12	M	0	0	0	47	53
E	0	16	28	52	4	E	0	4	0	40	56
C	0	4	18	50	29	C	0	0	4	25	71
	foolish				wise		foolish				wise
CR	0	14	43	32	11	CR	0	4	29	50	18
W	0	10	41	48	0	W	0	10	31	52	7
M	0	18	41	35	6	M	0	0	29	71	0
E	0	16	52	32	0	E	0	0	40	52	8
C	0	21	25	50	4	C	0	0	29	57	14
	rigid				flexible		rigid				flexible
CR	0	11	39	32	18	CR	0	7	18	50	25
W	0	14	24	59	3	W	0	17	10	59	14
M	0	6	24	59	12	M	0	12	12	77	0
E	0	13	33	46	8	E	0	8	40	36	16
C	0	7	43	32	18	C	0	7	21	36	36
	bad				good		bad				good
CR	0	4	43	32	21	CR	0	0	26	44	30
W	0	0	21	66	14	W	0	3	14	52	31
M	0	0	24	71	6	M	0	0	6	77	18
E	0	4	28	48	20	E	0	0	13	63	25
C	0	0	36	47	18	C	0	0	11	57	32
	socially valuable				socially worthless		socially valuable				socially worthless
CR	50	25	18	7	0	CR	43	36	7	14	0
W	38	35	28	0	0	W	28	45	28	0	0
M	53	30	6	6	6	M	18	41	35	6	0
E	32	28	32	4	4	E	20	44	28	8	0
C	29	43	25	4	0	C	25	39	25	4	7

TABLE 5 (continued)

	POW					POS				
	moral				immoral	moral				immoral
CR	29	29	36	7	0	36	25	36	0	4
W	10	66	21	3	0	41	52	0	7	0
M	6	44	38	13	0	77	24	0	0	0
E	12	48	32	8	0	44	36	16	4	0
C	14	54	32	0	0	61	21	11	7	0
	shallow				deep	shallow				deep
CR	0	11	46	29	14	0	0	14	57	29
W	0	31	45	24	0	0	21	17	55	7
M	0	18	47	29	6	0	6	29	59	6
E	0	24	52	24	0	0	0	44	52	4
C	4	11	54	29	4	0	7	25	54	14
	conforming		nonconforming			conforming		nonconforming		
CR	7	36	43	7	7	0	7	25	32	36
W	21	45	35	0	0	7	45	21	24	3
M	24	24	53	0	0	0	38	19	38	6
E	8	72	16	4	0	4	48	16	32	0
C	18	36	43	4	0	7	36	32	21	4
	other-oriented		self-oriented			other-oriented		self-oriented		
CR	29	36	29	4	4	4	32	32	18	14
W	7	28	45	10	10	3	21	41	24	10
M	6	53	24	18	0	12	47	29	12	0
E	4	28	28	32	8	0	16	36	44	4
C	7	21	29	36	7	11	21	29	25	14
	boring				enjoyable	boring				enjoyable
CR	0	4	29	39	29	0	0	18	64	18
W	0	7	21	62	10	0	14	17	66	3
M	0	6	29	53	12	0	12	41	47	0
E	4	8	36	40	12	0	8	36	40	16
C	4	4	25	64	4	0	4	32	43	21

TABLE 5 (continued)

	POW					POS					
	friendly			unfriendly			friendly			unfriendly	
CR	29	43	21	4	4	CR	0	43	36	14	7
W	11	71	11	7	0	W	0	48	41	0	10
M	18	65	12	6	0	M	0	18	65	6	12
E	20	60	16	4	0	E	0	36	48	8	8
C	21	61	14	4	0	C	0	46	36	11	7
	brave			cowardly			brave			cowardly	
CR	14	39	39	4	4	CR	18	46	14	21	0
W	7	41	45	7	0	W	0	35	45	17	3
M	6	53	24	12	6	M	0	65	29	6	0
E	4	28	56	12	0	E	8	44	40	8	0
C	11	36	43	7	4	C	11	36	43	7	4
	graceful			awkward			graceful			awkward	
CR	21	29	46	0	4	CR	14	21	43	21	0
W	10	41	48	0	0	W	0	35	38	28	0
M	12	59	29	0	0	M	6	29	29	29	6
E	24	48	28	0	0	E	8	40	36	16	0
C	14	61	25	0	0	C	4	54	39	0	4
	self-confident			nervous			self-confident			nervous	
CR	4	21	46	25	4	CR	14	39	32	14	0
W	0	45	41	14	0	W	3	45	14	31	7
M	12	47	35	6	0	M	24	41	18	18	0
E	4	32	28	32	4	E	12	20	36	24	8
C	4	18	57	21	0	C	18	54	18	11	0
	aggressive			timid			aggressive			timid	
CR	4	14	50	32	0	CR	14	57	21	7	0
W	3	21	52	24	0	W	3	48	38	10	0
M	0	24	65	12	0	M	12	29	41	6	11
E	4	20	48	28	0	E	8	40	32	20	0
C	0	32	39	29	0	C	11	61	21	7	0

TABLE 5 (continued)

	POW					POS					
	fair				unfair	fair				unfair
CR	18	36	39	4	4	CR	0	36	46	18	0
W	10	69	17	3	0	W	0	35	55	7	3
M	12	59	29	0	0	M	0	31	69	0	0
E	12	52	32	4	0	E	0	40	48	12	0
C	4	50	46	0	0	C	0	64	29	4	4
	relaxed				tense	relaxed				tense
CR	7	18	54	18	4	CR	4	39	32	25	0
W	3	31	48	17	0	W	7	48	14	28	3
M	6	53	29	12	0	M	24	41	12	24	0
E	4	28	36	28	4	E	12	20	36	28	4
C	4	14	46	32	4	C	11	54	21	14	0
	youthful				mature	youthful				mature
CR	7	4	68	21	0	CR	7	18	46	18	11
W	3	17	52	17	10	W	7	21	17	45	10
M	0	24	47	24	6	M	6	24	12	53	6
E	0	16	56	28	0	E	8	24	24	36	8
C	0	18	46	25	11	C	4	14	11	39	32
	humanistic				materialistic	humanistic				materialistic
CR	18	32	39	7	4	CR	32	46	21	0	0
W	0	24	41	28	7	W	14	45	35	7	0
M	6	41	24	24	6	M	24	53	18	6	0
E	8	16	32	44	0	E	20	36	32	12	0
C	7	18	29	43	4	C	32	29	21	14	4
	kind				cruel	kind				cruel
CR	25	39	32	0	4	CR	0	46	39	14	0
W	21	62	17	0	0	W	0	45	48	3	3
M	12	71	18	0	0	M	0	12	77	12	0
E	16	60	24	0	0	E	0	52	44	4	0
C	18	54	25	4	0	C	0	61	21	14	4

TABLE 5 (continued)

	POW					POS					
	successful			unsuccessful			successful			unsuccessful	
CR	7	18	57	11	7	CR	0	21	50	29	0
W	7	48	35	10	0	W	0	21	62	10	7
M	12	47	35	6	0	M	0	12	82	6	0
E	4	60	32	4	0	E	0	8	76	16	0
C	7	43	39	11	0	C	0	29	54	18	0
	strong			weak			strong			weak	
CR	11	36	39	11	4	CR	0	25	64	11	0
W	10	38	31	21	0	W	0	14	55	21	10
M	6	29	35	29	0	M	0	18	41	41	0
E	8	20	52	20	0	E	0	12	60	24	4
C	11	43	43	3	0	C	0	32	39	25	4
	practical			theoretical			practical			theoretical	
CR	21	39	36	0	4	CR	21	25	29	25	0
W	10	55	24	7	3	W	35	41	17	3	3
M	18	47	29	6	0	M	38	44	13	0	6
E	12	64	16	8	0	E	24	64	12	0	0
C	15	44	33	7	0	C	46	32	18	4	0
	free			constrained			free			constrained	
CR	0	7	25	50	18	CR	0	14	46	29	11
W	3	14	31	41	10	W	0	7	21	21	52
M	6	41	35	18	0	M	0	24	47	12	18
E	4	16	44	32	4	E	0	16	44	24	16
C	0	25	39	25	11	C	0	18	39	25	18
	stable			changeable			stable			changeable	
CR	7	18	54	18	4	CR	4	43	21	21	11
W	3	21	41	35	0	W	28	31	3	31	7
M	6	29	29	29	6	M	24	29	12	24	12
E	4	12	32	44	8	E	12	44	32	12	0
C	4	22	37	30	7	C	50	32	7	7	4

TABLE 5 (continued)

	POW					POS					
	democratic			authoritarian			democratic			authoritarian	
CR	11	25	57	4	4	CR	26	56	11	7	0
W	3	27	48	21	0	W	14	52	14	21	0
M	6	29	35	24	6	M	6	53	29	12	0
E	8	28	36	28	0	E	13	54	21	8	4
C	0	36	50	11	4	C	36	32	21	11	0
	static			dynamic			static			dynamic	
CR	7	11	46	29	7	CR	0	4	18	64	14
W	0	38	45	17	0	W	0	17	59	24	0
M	6	29	18	41	6	M	0	18	29	47	6
E	4	16	60	20	0	E	0	12	52	28	8
C	7	21	46	25	0	C	4	0	57	39	0
	dominant			submissive			dominant			submissive	
CR	3	7	36	50	4	CR	11	54	29	7	0
W	0	24	24	41	10	W	3	48	35	10	3
M	0	12	53	35	0	M	12	18	24	47	0
E	4	24	28	36	8	E	4	32	44	20	0
C	4	11	54	29	4	C	11	50	18	14	7
	resistive			cooperative			resistive			cooperative	
CR	0	4	25	54	18	CR	7	7	14	50	21
W	0	3	24	62	10	W	0	3	10	55	31
M	0	0	12	82	6	M	0	6	18	59	18
E	0	12	20	60	8	E	0	4	8	52	36
C	0	7	32	54	7	C	0	0	7	50	43
	important			unimportant			important			unimportant	
CR	43	29	21	7	0	CR	0	29	54	18	0
W	24	38	31	7	0	W	0	21	38	31	10
M	47	35	12	6	0	M	0	12	65	18	6
E	8	48	40	4	0	E	0	13	42	42	4
C	14	46	32	4	4	C	0	14	36	39	11

TABLE 5 (continued)

	POW					POS					
	active			passive			active			passive	
CR	11	21	39	29	0	CR	29	64	4	4	0
W	3	35	31	28	3	W	31	59	7	3	0
M	12	53	29	6	0	M	24	47	6	18	6
E	4	24	64	8	0	E	24	56	16	4	0
C	7	50	29	7	7	C	50	32	7	7	4
	emotional			intellectual			emotional			intellectual	
CR	7	18	64	7	4	CR	11	14	50	18	7
W	7	45	35	14	0	W	10	41	21	24	3
M	24	41	29	6	0	M	6	44	25	25	0
E	12	68	16	4	0	E	16	52	20	8	4
C	15	56	26	4	0	C	11	11	29	43	7
	ambitious			lazy			ambitious			lazy	
CR	14	32	46	7	22	CR	21	46	21	7	4
W	3	45	38	14	23	W	21	38	21	21	0
M	13	63	25	0	13	M	12	47	18	18	6
E	12	40	44	4	20	E	36	40	24	0	0
C	0	50	43	7	22	C	46	36	14	4	0
	egotistic			altruistic			egotistic			altruistic	
CR	7	4	43	39	7	CR	4	29	36	18	14
W	0	24	45	31	0	W	3	10	45	38	3
M	0	18	47	29	6	M	0	13	63	19	6
E	4	20	60	16	0	E	4	12	68	16	0
C	4	22	37	26	11	C	0	7	56	19	19
	traditional			progressive			traditional			progressive	
CR	0	29	46	14	11	CR	0	4	7	61	29
W	0	45	41	10	3	W	3	28	21	45	3
M	0	47	29	24	0	M	6	38	19	38	0
E	4	32	40	24	0	E	0	24	20	44	12
C	11	18	29	39	4	C	4	18	29	39	11

TABLE 5 (continued)

	POW					POS					
	masculine			feminine			masculine			feminine	
CR	0	4	54	36	7	CR	0	4	61	25	11
W	0	0	21	66	14	W	0	3	21	38	38
M	0	0	12	59	29	M	0	6	0	47	47
E	0	0	32	56	12	E	0	4	12	48	36
C	0	0	25	43	32	C	0	0	18	32	50
	pessimistic			optomistic			pessimistic			optomistic	
CR	0	11	46	39	4	CR	0	21	29	36	14
W	0	0	52	41	7	W	0	10	10	69	10
M	0	18	18	53	12	M	0	0	18	53	29
E	0	20	52	24	4	E	0	12	32	44	12
C	0	11	29	39	21	C	0	4	14	32	50
	believing			skeptical			believing			skeptical	
CR	7	36	46	7	4	CR	4	14	32	39	11
W	3	55	38	0	3	W	7	35	24	35	0
M	6	47	29	18	0	M	19	56	0	25	0
E	17	46	21	17	0	E	8	52	16	24	0
C	7	36	32	14	11	C	18	32	14	36	0
	stubborn			easy-going			stubborn			easy-going	
CR	0	11	50	36	4	CR	11	29	21	32	7
W	0	17	55	24	3	W	10	31	17	35	7
M	0	12	53	29	6	M	13	19	19	38	13
E	0	24	56	20	0	E	20	24	32	20	4
C	0	14	57	21	7	C	4	39	21	25	11
	complex			simple			complex			simple	
CR	39	25	29	4	4	CR	39	36	18	4	4
W	21	24	38	17	0	W	14	35	28	24	0
M	6	41	41	12	0	M	13	56	13	19	0
E	4	20	52	24	0	E	8	32	48	12	0
C	4	46	32	7	0	C	14	36	25	18	7

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